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PALMYRENA

ALOIS MUSIL



AMERICAN GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

ORIENTAL EXPLORATIONS AND STUDIES No. 4

PALMYRENA



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AMERICAN GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY
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Edited by J. K. WRIGHT

PALMYRENA

A Topographical Itinerary

BY

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Charles University, Prague

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TO OUR EMIR

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	Index map (1:2,500,000)	<i>in pocket</i>
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PREFACE

It had not been my original intention in 1908 to explore Palmyrena, but while Prince an-Nûri eben Ša'lân lingered at Dmejr in the autumn of that year I availed myself of the opportunity to visit the ruins of al-Ḳaṣṭal and al-Bḥara¹ and to follow the Ṭarîḳ ar-Rašîf (Roman Road) which had been described to me as running from Ḥân aš-Šâmât to ar-Reṣâfa. My studies of the scientific material collected during this excursion of 1908 prompted me to return to Palmyrena in 1912 and to explore its more mountainous districts prior to my first expedition along the middle Euphrates.² In 1915, on my return from central Arabia and Mesopotamia, I sketched the northern and northwestern borders of Palmyrena for my map of Northern Arabia, which illustrates the text of this volume. During the World War German officers carried out a survey in the western part of Palmyrena; some of their positions as shown on the German General Staff map of Mesopotamia and Syria³ are more precise than mine. I have, nevertheless, not felt it necessary to substitute their results for mine, for to do so would necessitate a complete change in the character of my map. A discussion of the method by which the latter was constructed will be found in the preface of my *Arabia Deserta*, pp. xiii-xv.

The primary motive of my explorations was historical, not cartographical; I therefore tried to collect as many topographical names as possible as a basis for my historical researches, and in so doing I paid especial attention to the spelling. In transliterating Arabic letters I have used the same signs as in my works *The Northern Heǧâz* (New York, 1926), *Arabia Deserta* (New York, 1927), and *The Middle Euphrates* (New York, 1927), attempting to express each sound by a single letter or a single symbol. For experts, a full explanation of the meaning of the different symbols is given below the title of the map of Northern Arabia. For the general reader I would point out that *ǧ* is to be read like *g* in gem, *š* like *sh*, *ž* like *z* in azure, *č* like *ch* in chief, *j* like *y* in yoke, and that *°* is

¹ Discussed in the author's *Kusejr °Amra*, Vienna, 1907, pp. 160—162.

² See the author's *The Middle Euphrates*, New York, 1927.

³ Kartographische Abteilung des Stellv. Generalstabes der Armee (now: Kartographische Abteilung der Kgl. Preussischen Landes-Aufnahme), *Karte von Mesopotamien und Syrien*, 1:400,000, Berlin, 1917.

a strong guttural sound. The remaining symbols need not trouble him.

Throughout this work most of the Assyrian names have been transliterated consistently with the scheme of transliteration employed for Arabic names. Greek names are in general spelled in their Latin form rather than directly transliterated from the Greek.⁴

Bibliographical references in the footnotes are given in abbreviated form. The full references, with the dates of Arabic and ancient authors, will be found in the Bibliography, pp. 329—337.

The meaning of the majority of Arabic terms used in the text will be evident from the context. Two terms, however, are frequently employed without explanation:

še'ib (plural, *še'ibân*): relatively small watercourse or valley occupied by an intermittent stream;

wâdi (plural, *wudijân*): relatively large watercourse or valley occupied by an intermittent stream.

Arabic botanical terms appearing in the text are listed in the index with brief characterizations and Latin equivalents as far as these have been determined.

A sketch map showing the author's route and indicating the pages in this volume on which the different portions of his itinerary are discussed accompanies the volume.

The writer considers it both a duty and a pleasure to express his most sincere thanks to the editor, Dr. J. K. Wright, for help and advice; to Miss Anna Blechová, secretary of the Oriental Seminar of Charles University, Prague, for many days of devoted work upon this volume; and to Mr. Karel Dyrynk, technical manager of the State Printing Establishment (Státní tiskárna), Prague, for his expert solution of the difficult technical problems connected with the printing of the present book. Grateful acknowledgement is also due to Mr. C. O. Cornelius of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, for his careful revision of Appendix X.

⁴ Exceptions to these general rules governing transliteration are made for those proper names that have acquired conventional English forms, the latter forms being used to avoid the appearance of pedantry.

PART I

1908

CHAPTER I

WÂDI AL-‘AŞEJFÎR TO RĠŪM AL-MESÂJÎD AND RETURN BY WAY OF ḤÂN AŞ-ŞÂMÂT

In the first half of July, 1908, I paid a visit to Prince an-Nûri eben Ša‘lân in his camps near al-Ġâbija, southwest of Damascus. At the end of June he had come with his Rwala from the inner desert to Syria in order to provide himself with the food and clothing necessary for his sojourn in the desert. In each camp were to be seen the long white tents of camel traders and round tents where provisions and clothing were sold. After obtaining a promise from the Prince that he would take me along with him to the interior of the desert, I returned to Damascus, where I got my own stores ready and hired the required servants. An acquaintance of mine recommended two members of the ‘Aķejl tribe and a negro, all of whom made a living by camel trading and were familiar with the desert. My right-hand man was to be ‘Abd-allâh al-Maṭrûd, a delicate but cunning little fellow who had to keep an eye on my property and deal with the various chiefs. Mḥammad al-Ķazîb, who could write, was to accompany me on my trips and be my assistant in studying the customs and habits of the people. A negro, Faraġ by name, was our cook and laundryman. My scientific assistant was Rudolf Thomasberger, an official of the Military Geographical Institute in Vienna, who took charge of the scientific instruments and, besides, had to sketch maps of the various roads and districts. While in the desert Thomasberger was known as Tûmân. As to tents: I bought a somewhat long one from the ‘Aķejl and a round, smaller one from a dealer who sold tents to the Mecca pilgrims. Camels I obtained from the Rwala and Sba‘a tribes.

We waited impatiently for the first rain. As a rule a report comes as early as the second half of August or at the beginning of September that there has been rain in this or that part of the desert. As soon as the Bedouins learn this, with their herds they leave the district known as an-Nuķra to the south of Damascus and make for the desert; there they find the rain ponds, holes, and wells filled with water by the last

rains, and also the nutritious dry pasture remaining from the last rainy season — and therefore the season of prosperity (*rabî*) — in that region. In an-Nuḵra they can stay no longer, because the fields are already eaten off; the *fellâḥîn* are plowing, the water in the cisterns is becoming scarce and of bad quality, and, furthermore, the first rain is regularly followed by various epidemics. But not even by the end of August nor during the first half of September had the glad tidings reached the Rwala camp that there had been rain anywhere in the desert. A few clans of the Rwala went into the desert by the Eastern Gate between the mountain chain of ar-Rawâḵ on the north and the volcanic area of Tlûl al-ʿIjât on the south and camped on the border ridge of ar-Rawâḵ between the settlements of Dmejṛ and Tudmor and along the eastern fringes of Tlûl al-ʿIjât and the Ḥawrân. Only Prince an-Nûri remained near Damascus, where his camp had been established on the marshy meadows south of the ʿAdra settlement. There, then, I sent my baggage and the tents and on September 24 was encamped beside the Prince as his neighbor. At the beginning of October we went to Wâdi al-ʿAṣejfir near the settlement of Dmejṛ.

WÂDI AL-ʿAṢEJFÎR TO RĠÛM AL-MEṢÂJÎD

Saturday, October 3, 1908. For my topographical map I needed fixed trigonometric points. It was necessary to survey from a base, for which we deemed the lowland south of Dmejṛ the most suitable position, since it was bounded on the north by a mountain chain with some isolated peaks visible from afar and on the south by a volcanic area dotted over with conspicuous extinct volcanoes. Still, surveying there was not without danger, because the volcanic area was occupied by the hostile Ahâli al-Ġebel. The Prince, therefore, would not permit me to spend the night there. It was, however, imperative for me to determine the latitude at one end of the base by observing the polestar. When I promised the Prince that I would observe the polestar immediately after sunset, after which we would start north, he gave me his negro, Ḥmâr, as a companion. Old Ḥmâr was a confidential servant not only of Prince an-Nûri but also of the late Prince Saṭṭâm, whom he had once accompanied to Constantinople. It was his business to watch over our safety and to see that we did not act incau-

tiously. Knowing the names of all the places in the vicinity, our guide was to be Ḥsên al-Mazlûm.

At 7.26 A.M. we left my tent. There were five of us, Tûmân, Mḥammad, Ḥmâr, and Ḥsên — all seated on my camels. Heading southeast, first we crossed the al-‘Aşejfir creek, after a while the *še‘îb* of al-Mubjeza, and by eight o'clock were following an ancient but lately renovated subterranean aqueduct, Mufaḵḵar al-Brâč, through which water flows from the Bîr Hazzâl into the reservoir of al-Maksûra and to the gardens extending east of Dmejir. At 8.10 we reached the al-Maksûra ruins, lying to the south of the reservoir. In the seventies of the last century, when Miḍḥat Pasha was reforming the Turkish empire, stones from the wall enclosing the reservoir and from the demolished houses south of it were used for erecting military barracks. These barracks, intended for the mounted police, form a long, massive, one-storied building on a rocky knoll northeast of the reservoir and are now deserted. To the south of them lies a cultivated plain which was strewn over with black tents belonging to the Eben Meğwel kin of the Rwala. The water flowing out of the reservoir formed a streamlet about one hundred meters long, around which crowded hundreds of thirsty camels. At 8.37 we passed on our left the extensive Dmejir al-‘Atîze ruins and then rode through the plowed country to the semicircular tower of al-Burġ, built of smoothed square blocks and belonging to a small square fort which we passed on our right. The land behind the tower was not cultivated, although it could easily have been turned into fertile fields.

On all the hills we noticed heaps of stones (*rġûm*), apparently the débris of old watchtowers. Conspicuous in the lowland were numerous enclosures, fenced around by rough stone walls. Many of these measured several hundred meters in circumference, and the walls were up to two meters in height. The *fellâḥîn* from Dmejir and the northern settlements catch gazelles in them. These enclosures, called *meşâjîd* or *meşâjed*, are triangular with a single narrow entrance at their sharpest angle. The walls do not end at the entrance but extend to a distance of several hundred meters beyond, widening out gradually and becoming lower all the time. If a herd of gazelles is grazing somewhere near, the hunters begin to drive the animals cautiously towards the enclosure in order to get them into the widest opening of the walls first. When they succeed

in this, the usual method is to frighten the beasts from behind; this makes the frenzied game run right into the narrow opening, which the hunters quickly close. Then the hunters begin to throw missiles of all kinds at the trapped animals. The wall enclosing the base of the triangle is purposely made lower in some places, with deep pits dug on the outside. Frightened as the gazelles are, they invariably jump over the wall into the pits, where they break their necks or legs and become an easy prey to the hunters. In this cruel manner from fifty to sixty gazelles are often captured in half a day.

MEASURING A BASE

At 9.32 we stopped before one of these large enclosures. To the south and southwest of it were four others, and before the entrance of each were high piles of stones, visible from a great distance and thus well suited to our purpose. We halted at the northernmost pile in order to measure our base from there to the fourth enclosure. Making a sketch of the land nearest to us, we placed a long pole on the northernmost pile as well as on the fourth pile and between them eight more in such a position as to form a straight line. Then we took levels and began to measure the distance. I determined the direction while Tûmân drove stakes of the proper height at intervals of approximately twenty meters. When this was done, in order to determine the exact distance I would lay the point marked "20 m." on my steel measure upon the cross with which each stake was marked; Tûmân would then pull out the measure to its full length and place the first part of it, which was divided into millimeters, on the cross mark of the next stake and read the distance. After repeating this procedure in the opposite direction, we determined the length of our base to be 687.74 meters, and then began to determine the azimuth of the base.

Ĥmâr and Ĥsên had at first evinced some interest in our labors but by the afternoon began to grow impatient; deeming our stay in the same locality too long, they begged us to leave immediately. Ĥmâr declared that we had gone too far south and that to remain until sunset was out of the question, because then the Ahâli al-Ġebel would certainly attack us. It is the habit of these robbers after the sun goes down to sneak behind returning herds of camels and steal such animals as

fall behind. Our baggage was loaded and Ĥmâr tried to force me to go. Now, if ever, it was necessary to be careful not to antagonize him, especially since it was our first trip and because he could make trouble for me not only with the Prince but also with his slaves. Appealing to his well-known prudence and bravery and calling his attention to the fact that we were well armed, I finally gained his consent to remain until after sunset for as long a time as it would take him to smoke two cigarettes. Loading our guns, we waited impatiently for the sun to set. Our camels knelt behind the pile. Ĥmâr stood on the top of it with me in front of him and kept urging me to take a look at the polestar. He could not understand why I wanted to see that star just on that day and from that particular heap of stones when I could make the observation from the camp or some other place with far more comfort and security. Lanterns we dared not use, for any light would have revealed to the enemy our whereabouts. Consequently I tried my hardest to catch a glimpse of the pole star with the help of my theodolite and to read the vernier with my naked eye. But the impatient Ĥmâr jumped off the pile and into the saddle, Ĥsên following his example, and both warned me that the Ahâli could suddenly leap like wild beasts from any of the nearest stone heaps and kill us before we knew it. "If, O Sheikh Mûsa, thou dost not value thine own property and thy own life, then at least take pity on our lives," were the words which they constantly dinned into my ears. And with all this going on I had to make an observation of the polestar and to note accurately, without a light, the reading of the vernier! Finally, however, the azimuth was determined, the theodolite wrapped up, and our camels raced with us back northwards.

At the foot of the Ab-al-Kôs mountain range we found a camp of camel herders. Making our beds at a distance of a rifle shot from them, we started a fire of dry camel manure (*ġelle, ba'ara*) and cooked our supper of *burrul* (boiled husked wheat kernels, which have been allowed to dry). Tûmân and I were the only ones who ate. My other companions while back in the camp had persisted in saying they would keep the *ramazân* fast; but they had forgotten their religious duty as soon as the camp was behind them and had smoked, drunk, and eaten all day, so that by evening they felt no hunger at all. Towards midnight one of the herdsmen encamped near us began to tell stories in such a loud voice that Ĥmâr shouted

over to him that, being a Welêdî, he should not disturb the sleep of the Rwala. In answer to my query as to how he knew the story-teller to belong to the Weld 'Ali, Hmâr told me that he could tell by his way of speaking, because the Weld 'Ali use a different dialect from the Rwala, although both are members of the 'Aneze group. The Rwala, who crowded the Weld 'Ali out from quite a stretch of grazing land, consider themselves more genteel and claim that they alone are *bedw* (Bedouins), while the Weld 'Ali would soon change into tenders of goats and sheep (*šwâja*). The night was quiet but so chilly that by five o'clock we were shivering with cold and both my kerchief and cloak were soaked through with dew.

Sunday, October 4, 1908. Before sunrise I awoke Mhammad and ordered him to light a fire and warm up the left-over coffee, because I knew that Hmâr would not mount his camel unless he had first drunk his hot coffee, and I wanted to begin work as soon as possible. At six o'clock we were riding over the plain in a southerly direction and overtook some herdsmen who had started to drive their animals to pasture the moment the sun appeared. Silently we went on; there was not a sound to be heard on the wide, seemingly lifeless desert. The rising sun spread its first rays over the volcanoes to the south, making them look like small red-hot islets in a sea of mist. To the northwest, above the tents of the Rwala, hung countless wisps of smoke, which, as it seemed, drove the fog to the ground. In front of the tents thousands of camels were moving slowly, making a picture well worth seeing. They appeared to be swimming in the fog, which concealed both their legs and bodies, leaving only their humps and heads visible. The humps of the white camels (*marâtîr*) glistened like gold, and wherever there was a herd they resembled the domed roofs of the north Syrian churches, smoldering, as it were, in the sun. Reaching our base, we measured off the azimuth and formed a second much longer base, which cut our first one almost at a right angle. Running nearly parallel with the mountain chain to the north this new base promised us the possibility of better results than the first one, which pointed almost directly at the mountains.

The mountain chain running from north of Dmejz to Palmyra the Bedouins call ar-Rawâḵ. It is part of a ridge extending from the Ḳalamûn mountains near Damascus northeastwards to the Euphrates. North of Dmejz this ridge is cut by the

al-‘Aşejfîr valley, to the east of which it is called Ab-al-Kôs; still farther east it bears in turn the names Ab-al-Ġerwe and Meşakḡ Semri, and the last part visible from our second base is known as az-Zbejdi. The ridge forms a narrow, flat-topped plateau above which a few dome-shaped hills rise. The highest of these are the second from the west in the mountain of Ab-al-Ġerwe and the western butte of Ab-al-Kôs. To the south of the ridge the Dmejir lowland spreads out to the Hawrân mountains on the south and far into the desert on the east. On the west this lowland meets al-Rûṭa, or basin of Damascus. There are hardly any elevations in the northern part of the lowland. Southwest of the tower of al-Burġ may be noticed three low, grayish domes known as al-Orejnbât, close to which are the ruins (*hirbe*) of the same name. To the south-east of al-Orejnbât rises the height of al-Hdejb, beyond which begins the black, stony tract, Tlûl al-‘Ijât, dotted with many extinct volcanoes and isolated hillocks. Aş-Şâmât, the northernmost of these, reach almost to the foot of Ab-al-Ġerwe. With the help of my binoculars I discovered some ruins on the highest peak of aş-Şâmât and resolved to examine them. Hmâr opposed this, but gave in when I promised him a handful of cigarettes.

RETURN TO WÂDI AL-‘AŞEJFÎR BY WAY OF HÂN AŞ-ŞÂMÂT

At 12.20 we rode from Rġûm al-Meşâjîd in a northeasterly direction to Hân aş-Şâmât. Ten minutes later we crossed as-Sidd, a partly ruined wall 1.2 meters thick, which leads with many turnings from the mountain chain on the north southwards to the Hawrân mountains and forms on the east the border of the fertile lowland of Dmejir. Originally this wall was 1.8 meters high, with gates in a few places only, so that the *fellâhîn* were secure from an unexpected attack by the Bedouins. Now it is completely demolished in places. Southeast of the wall the ground is covered with black lava out of which rise a few extinct volcanoes. We could observe very closely the craters of the fourth largest volcano in the Mtejriġât group as well as those of the Umm Iden and al-Makḡûl groups. At 2.10 P.M. we were at the aş-Şâmât hills (as the Rwala call them, whereas the Rijât, the clan of our guide Hsên, know them by the name of aş-Şema’), and at 2.30 with our camels we somewhat laboriously ascended a hillock, on top as

well as at the base of which lay the ruins we had come to examine. We stayed there until 3.42.

The building (Figs. 1, 2) on the top of the hill is 53 meters long from north to south and 45 meters wide; but all that remained of it were the foundation walls and even they were destroyed in many places and often indistinct. The structure is entered from the west. In about the center is a square tower, in the southeastern corner a flight of stairs, leading to the walls, and in the northeastern a deep well. Below the hill on the north there are the remains of a fortified Roman camp, about fifty meters square, facing the northeast. From each corner of the strong ramparts rises a square tower. Within the yard, which is entered by a gate strengthened by two buttresses, is a square, walled enclosure measuring about thirty meters on a side. The space between the wall and the ramparts is filled with débris from smaller rooms. Within the enclosure is another still smaller enclosure containing rooms built in two parallel rows about twenty meters long by eight meters wide. North of the gate a stairway leads up to the ramparts and to the southeast of the gate outside the camp is a reservoir twenty-seven meters square.

It was after sunset when we finished our trigonometric work and our plan of the ruins. Mounting our camels we then rode quickly westward over the now silent lowland as far as the al-ʿAṣejfir valley and thence along the terrace on its left-hand side to the north-northeast until at 9.52 we came to a halt before my tent.

CHAPTER II

WÂDI AL-‘AŞEJFÎR TO THE AB-AL-ĞERWE RIDGE AND RETURN

WÂDI AL-‘AŞEJFÎR TO AB-AL-ĞERWE

On Monday, October 5, 1908, it was necessary to go to the Ab-al-Ğerwe and Ab-al-Kôs ridges in order to extend my trigonometric survey to the north and east from them. As we had a guide, I sent ‘Abdallâh to the Prince to inform him where we were going, but ‘Abdallâh did not find the Prince in his tent, because the Prince had left for ‘Adra’. An-Nûri’s son, Nawwâf, then came to see me and I told him of my plan. I impressed upon him the fact that it would be hardly possible for me to wait in camp until the first rains set in, because then I could not finish my examination of the territory north of al-Žerjitejn and Tudmor. The freedom of my movements so far had been much hindered by the insufficient number of my camels. Whenever we had to change camp, it took all my animals to carry our baggage, and, since I did not know when the Prince meant to order a change, I could never leave the camp for long. I therefore decided to buy three more she-camels. With five or six animals I meant to make my scientific excursions; the other eleven or twelve were to stay with my tent and be used for carrying the baggage whenever the camp was changed. Nawwâf asked me to return from my next excursion the moment it began to rain in earnest, in order that I might accompany the Rwala on their migration to the inner desert. On my trip to the Ab-al-Ğerwe ridge I had to take for my companion Nawwâf’s negro, Frejĥ, whom Nawwâf commanded to take along a rifle and sheepskin coat (*farwe*) and to obey me in everything. Then Nawwâf begged me before I left to call on his youngest brother Ĥafâġi, who had been ailing for the last four days. Without delay I entered the Prince’s tent and in the apartment reserved for women I found Ĥafâġi, a sick boy of about ten, lying on the ground. After examining him I ordered them to do what was necessary and possible, and I gave Nawwâf some medicine, cautioning him to care for his

sick brother as best he could. In front of my tent a woman with her little daughter was waiting. The child, who was feeding at its mother's breast, had been cared for by many doctors, since it had on its little body scars caused by a red-

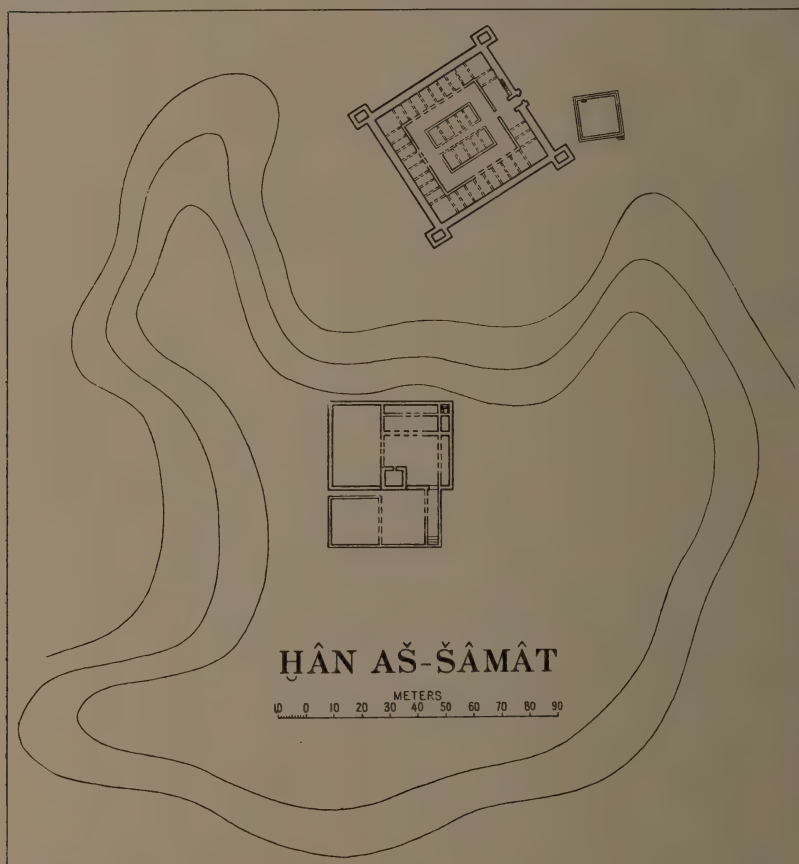


FIG. 1—Hân aš-Šâmât, plan.

hot iron and was smeared on the breast, abdomen, and back with a layer of clay one centimeter thick — all signs of different prescriptions.

At eight o'clock in the morning we started in a northeasterly direction. At first we followed the brook of al-'Aşejfir, which comes from ar-Rḥejbe and receives the water of the spring of al-Mċabrat. At 8.20 we entered the wide valley of

al-‘Emedijje, close by an old, dilapidated dam, which in times past was evidently intended to hold the water coming down from the hills, in order that it might afterwards be distributed over the surrounding gardens. The soil here is oversaturated with lime but workable. The hillsides are not steep, the side valleys are low, and at one time all were cultivated, chiefly as gardens. At 9.15 Hsên showed me to the north the wells of the ar-Rhejbe settlement.

By 9.50 we reached the ridge of Batra and by 10.05 turned into the narrow *še‘ib* of al-Bâbejn. The right wall of this *še‘ib* is composed of soft limestone, through which run parallel sloping veins of quartz. Soon to the left of our road we saw the holy terebinth tree Mizâr umm ‘Ajjâš. The mighty old tree was broken by the wind; from its stump grew a few shoots hung full of very old ribbons and pieces of cloth, votive gifts in honor of the spirit who made the tree his abode. Our guide Hsên would not go a step farther until he had obtained some coffee, tea, and bread. He refused to breakfast at the camp, asserting that as an orthodox Moslem he must keep the strictly ordained fast of *ramazân* and that from sunrise to sunset he would neither smoke, drink, nor eat; but by 10.10 he had wanted to do all these things. Since I had asked him to breakfast while we were in the tent, I did not mean to give in to him now; but he sat down under a tree and laughed at us when we turned into a wrong path. Thus all we could do was to give him bread and tobacco and then wait until he had finished eating and had rolled himself some cigarettes, all of which took him until 10.30. A little later we came to a broad basin called al-Mkejmen, overgrown with sturdy perennials and full of camels. The herdsmen were accustomed to stay with their animals two nights in the basin and on the third day to drive them to the creek of al-‘Aşejfir.

We now took a narrow path on the southern slope up to the pass Tenijet ab-al-Ğerwe. The ascent gradually became more and more difficult, until finally we had to dismount and lead our animals by their reins.

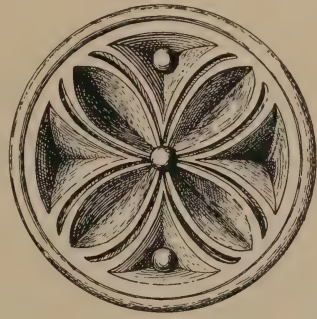


FIG. 2—Hân aş-Şâmât:
upper building, a rosette.

At 12.55 P.M. we reached the top of the pass. I asked Hsên to guide us up to the highest peak of Ab-al-Ğerwe, but he declared that the path there was impassable for the camels and that he was hungry and would therefore ride no farther, nor, indeed, go with us at all until he had eaten enough. No choice was left for us but to unload our baggage in the pass and for Tûmân and me to find our way on foot to the highest peak. Having found it, we returned to our baggage and asked Hsên — who in the meantime had drunk both coffee and tea and was comfortably smoking by the fire — if he would take the theodolite with the tripod and accompany us to the peak, where he could give us the names of the principal places in the whole neighborhood. After entreating him for some time, he finally consented to carry the theodolite, but the tripod he threw aside, exclaiming that he was no pack camel. Shouldering our various instruments and a leather water bag, in forty-five minutes we reached the peak of Ab-al-Ğerwe. The view from there was very interesting.

VIEW FROM AB-AL-ĞERWE; RETURN TO AN-NÛR'S CAMP

The mountain chain of ar-Rawâk, of which the Ab-al-Ğerwe ridge is a part, forms the southern edge of a mountainous region. On the southeast Ab-al-Ğerwe looks as if it were broken off along a scarp line that faces the southeast. The sandstone strata comprising the higher north-western portion of the ridge are horizontal, whereas at a lower elevation southeast of the scarp what are apparently the same beds dip almost perpendicularly. South of these perpendicular beds extends a plain, grayish to the north and black to the south, on which numerous extinct volcanoes shaped like cones and frozen bubbles rise in various groups. Close by, almost directly south of us, were visible the truncated cones of aš-Šâmât. To the east of them were Mtejričât and Karawišât. In the background to the southeast and southwest spread numerous other groups. South of Karawišât is the Mâlhat al-Kronfol cluster; to the southwest the volcano of Umm İden, which falls off quite sharply on the east; west from there rises the volcano of al-Afejhem; farther to the south the low bubbles of al-Mintatrât; southeast of them, al-Maḥfûr; southwest of al-Maḥfûr, al-Mutalla'; and still farther in the same direction, the highest volcano of this row, the peaked butte of Dekwa.

Northeast of the volcanic hills Tlûl al-İjât spreads a grayish-yellow plain on which shone large, almost white spots. These are dried-up hollows called ḥabra (pl., ḥabâri), where rain water accumulates. The largest of them bears the name Sejkal and reaches almost to Mtejričât. Two smaller ones to the south are called Radâjef Sejkal; southeast is the Ḥabra aš-Šubejče, farther east the Ḥabra aṭ-Ṭrejfâwi, and southeast of the last-named the Ḥabra al-Bawlijjât. Far to the southeast of this there

glistened in the sun the rough environs of the basin of al-Ğwejf, and nearer at hand, to the southeast of us, rose the rolling heights of al-Buṭmijjât. No large ruins could be seen south of us. Ḥsên pointed out, to the southwest of Mtejrîçât, a heap of ruins called al-Ğşejr and north of that, at the foot of Meşakḵ Semri, a smaller ruin, Ḥân at-Trâb. North of this there yawns in the range a deep rift dividing Ab-al-Ğerwe from az-Zbejdi, from which stretches, west by northwest, a low ridge called first al-Haẓba and then al-Ḥamâme. The latter and its southern spurs, al-Morâr and al-Faşla, enclose the basin of al-Mkejmen on the north, northeast, and northwest and form, with the offshoot of Batra which extends to the west, the watershed between the valley of al-‘Emedijje, the depression Dawwat az-Ẓab’, and the salina Mellâḥa Ğerûd, which glitters to the north of Batra as if covered with ice. Northwest of the salina the mountain chain of al-Ḥaġûle and Še‘eb al-Lôz stretches from southwest to northeast, overlooked on the northwest by the almost parallel ridge of the al-Ğûd mountains. To the northeast of us appeared the white hills in the midst of which al-Žerjitejn is situated, and to the southeast of them two black hills were conspicuous, the northern one being known as al-‘Abd and the southern as al-‘Abde.

Only at sunset did we interrupt our map sketching and return to our baggage, where we determined the latitude. In the night I was tortured with pains in the right side of my breast. About three weeks before, when jumping from a running camel, I had bumped against the muzzle of my carbine and injured three of my right ribs at the very spot where they change into cartilage. Then, while ascending the top of Ab-al-Ğerwe, where it was necessary to climb laboriously from rock to rock, the scarcely-healed wounds had opened anew, and in going down my foot had slipped and I had fallen, striking against a rock with my still sore breast.

The gap where we encamped was full of large and small stones, which made my companions grumble, since there was no comfortable place to lie upon. As the night was cold (4.5° C) and very damp, they made a fire as soon as the morning star appeared.

Tuesday, October 6, 1908. Daybreak (temperature: 13° C) showed itself in a peculiar manner. All the northern valleys were filled with thick, moving fog, in contrast to which the ridges of the mountain chain as well as some of the hilltops stood forth perfectly clear. A thin violet haze covered the lowland south of us, and behind it only the outlines of some hills were visible. The slowly rising fog now became so dense that we could not see five meters ahead of us, but after a few minutes it drifted as thin white clouds above our heads and seemed to change the summits of the mountain into giants

with white robes. From the east masses of fog rolled, monster-like, over the lowland, covering it completely and preventing any observations. Not far from our camp I found in the rocky clefts red and greenish *rûte* blossoms, the yellow-flowered *šnân*, the bluish *asansal* (which our guide called *hellêwi*), *šikkâra*, *şerr*, *ğāade*, *bşejjel*, *za'êtmân*, *nefel*, *eşbet an-na'am*, *ummu kţejt*, *reşād*, and other plants.¹ In the pass, and especially on the road to the summit of Ab-al-Ġerwe, we frequently noticed tracks of the ibex (*beden*), gazelle, porcupine (*nîş*), and even of wild bear (*hallûf*).

At 9.37 A. M. (temperature: 21.8° C) we left Tenijjet ab-al-Ġerwe and rode over the crest of ar-Rawâk in a south-westerly direction. The road was often extremely fatiguing and even dangerous, as one false step would have sufficed to send both camel and rider down into the lowland. Several times we had to dismount and lead our animals by the bridle. In the lowland south of us we saw thousands of dark, moving points — grazing camels; over our heads eagles and vultures were circling. At 10.52 we passed on our left a small spring, 'Ajn ar-Râhib, near which a hermit once lived.²

In Ab-al-Kôs I saw a white gazelle. Notwithstanding the pains in my chest, I slid carefully from my camel, which I then drove slowly towards the gazelle until I came within rifle shot of my prey. All I could see was its head, but soon it was ours. At 12.30 P. M. we reached the western summit of Ab-al-Kôs, which we had already observed from our base. We stayed there until 4.30, working on our map (temperature at 3: 26° C).

The mountain spur running from Ab-al-Kôs southwest is called al-Mkêre'e. The valleys of al-'Emedijje and al-'Aşejfir separate it from the hillocks of al-Ma'êşre, which rise southwest of the ridge of al-Mu'azzamijje. East of this and south of the village of ar-Rhejbe is a group of rough white hills named Arz al-Minkat'e. Leading our camels by the reins, we descended the slope of al-Mkêre'e to the valley and, mounting again, came to our tent at 6.15 (temperature: 27.5° C). After supper Hsên received his wages and was discharged. He would gladly have remained, because our tea and cigarettes were much to his taste, but we were all dissatisfied with him. He was obstinate and lazy.

¹ The Latin equivalents and brief characterizations of many Arabic botanical terms appearing in the text are given in the index.

² Al-Bekri, *Mu'jam* (Wüstenfeld), p. 756, mentions a hermitage in Syria called Kûs, of which the poet Du-r-Rumma sang. — It may have been this very retreat near 'Ajn ar-Râhib, and it is likely that the mountain of Ab-al-Kôs was named after the hermit's hut.

SOJOURN AT AN-NÛRÎ'S CAMP.

Our herdsman, Ḥarrân, returned with the camels which had been at pasture, complaining that he was unable to walk in his new shoes. I had hired him for three *meğîdijjât* (\$2.70) a month and two pairs of shoes a year. Mḥammad had then taken him to the tent of a hawker and bought him shoes which he himself picked out; but, after wearing them for four days only, he showed us marks on his feet where they pinched him. As he had never worn shoes before and did not know how to walk in them they of course made his feet sore. Mḥammad soaked the shoes in water, wrung them out, and ordered Ḥarrân to put them on once more and not to take them off even when going to sleep. Ḥarrân, who four days before had shown the shoes to all his friends and boasted that he would never again go barefoot, obeyed Mḥammad's order readily and the next morning came to us with the glad tidings that his feet and his shoes were at peace at last.

Wednesday, October 7, 1908. Intending to work up the results of my two excursions, I stayed in my tent and gave a positive order that no one was to enter but the Prince and Nawwâf. The latter did not come until eight o'clock; he inquired what success I had and begged me to visit his brother, Ḥafâğî, the sick boy. He said that he had given him the medicine on the first day until sunset and then, having to leave, had told the women to take care of him. This they had failed to do, excusing themselves by saying that they did not know which medicine to give or how to administer it. Ḥafâğî was having a chill with high fever and was coughing. What was needed was nourishing, easily digestible food, but he did not even get milk, because his father's she-camels were not yet back from pasture. The women fed him with bread soaked in melted butter, which caused him to vomit instantly. I then prepared a strong soup from Maggi's extract and had it given to him in spoonfuls until evening. All other medicines he stubbornly refused.

I sent ‘Abdallâh to invite the Prince and Nawwâf to supper in my name, but the Prince came to me before sunset and asked me to sup with him, because he too had meat. He inquired what spoils I had brought from my raids (*razwân*) and, when I showed him the stones, seeds, mosses, and plants that I had collected, he could not understand why I should

bother with such nonsense. On the way he told me that Ḥafâḡi had taken all the soup and felt much better. Giving him now the necessary medicine, I made some fresh soup. Ḥafâḡi lay in the women's quarters on a dirty carpet, and nobody paid any attention to him. His mother, Mnife, Saṭṭâm's daughter, was busy preparing breakfast with her slave women; and his blind grandmother, Taḡla, daughter of Fâjez eben Ġandal and mother of Prince an-Nûri, was quietly smoking her long pipe (*raġjûn*). Almost incessantly she drank coffee, which was handed to her by her slave woman sitting near by. After telling Ḥafâḡi that he would soon ride his filly again, I went with the Prince to the men's part (*rab'*) of the tent. All those present rose and greeted me in a friendly way. A clean carpet would have been placed on the ground for me, but I sat down beside Nawwâf. Those present formed an oblong close about a blazing fire. On the narrow side of the oblong, close to the partition that separated the men's from the women's quarters, was spread a small rug with a riding camel's saddle upon it. This was the seat of honor, reserved for the most distinguished guests, who sit with their arms leaning against the saddle. Along the lower side of the tent as well as along its back side, rugs were laid out on which were placed pack saddles (*hedâjeġ*). No carpets were spread on the open side of the tent, where the slaves, servants, or the poorer members of the clan sat or squatted. Nawwâf sat down by the lower side of the tent and leaned against a pack saddle. No sooner had I taken my place by his side than one of the slaves brought a quilt and pressed me to stand up again so that he could put it under me. The way to sit on the carpet is with the legs crossed. Everyone bade me welcome, one after another; then they inquired about my health and wanted to know what spoils I had brought from my raids.

Hardly were the customary greetings over, when I was asked to look at my watch to see if "breakfast time was reigning (*ḥakam al-ftûr*).” A peddler who was there pulled out his watch to answer them, but nobody believed him because he stated that the sun would set in fourteen minutes, while I said it would set in only six minutes. The peddler claimed his time to be correct, since he had set his watch in Damascus, which he had left early that morning. But Fahad, Nawwâf's father-in-law, thought this ridiculous and said: "So thou wouldst believe those lying people in Damascus, wouldst thou?

Now we won't take thy word at all, but will listen to Sheikh Mûsa, who believes only in the stars."

At the Prince's command a negro now poured a few drops of water over the fingers of our right hands. In the meantime four slaves had brought in a large pan (*şahn*) loaded with large thin pancakes (*şrâĉ*). The pancakes were covered with a mixture of tomatoes and the meat, bones, and head of a goat. Over this melted butter was poured. Then the pan was placed between the fire and the partition, and the Prince laid out the pieces of meat in rows. The instant I announced "the sun has gone down, the breakfast time reigned"; the Prince invited me and eight others to rise and reach towards the pan with our hands. Kneeling on our left knees and sitting on our left heels, we unrolled our right sleeves and with the words "*bismi-llâh*" began to eat. The pan lay on plowed land, and all the invited guests knelt right on the ground. For me alone and with his own hands the Prince spread out the leathern cover from his horse saddle. Then with three fingers of our right hands we fished in the butter for bits of meat, rolled them together with bread into small balls, and put them into our mouths. After a few minutes we licked our fingers clean, stood up, and the Prince called other guests to the pan. He himself and Nawwâf sat down with them. A slave poured water over my hands that I might wash myself; but the others had to wipe both their fingers and mouths on the tent ropes. After paying another visit to Ĥafâġi, I went to my tent with Nawwâf, who stayed with me until almost midnight.

THE BENI ŞAĤR AND THE GOVERNMENT

Thursday, October 8, 1908. The night was very damp, a thick fog covered the valley, and it was not until nine o'clock that the sun broke through. The rest of the day thin clouds were to be seen grouping themselves in the sky like large flocks of white lambs. I was working in my tent when 'Abdallâh reported that my friend and brother, Țalâl Pasha, was coming to pay me a visit. Țalâl eben Fâjez, prince of the Beni ŞaĤr, was an old acquaintance of mine; he had been a good friend and brother to me since 1896. He had come to Damascus not long before to settle some differences between his tribe and the Government. For a certain strictly stipu-

lated consideration his tribe used to guide pilgrim caravans from al-Mzêrib to Ma'ân, lending them the necessary camels and guarding them from danger. Ṭalâl, whom the Government had appointed head chief of the Beni Şahr with the title of pasha, was also to receive a yearly salary; but since 1906, when the Mecca pilgrims began to travel by railway, neither his salary nor the tribe's subsidy (*ma'âşe*) had been paid. In addition to this the Government had declared the country west of the railway to be its own property and had also demanded from the *fellâhîn* cultivating the land there the annual rent which until then they had paid to the Beni Şahr. These people started to mutiny and threatened to destroy the railway tracks leading through their territory; but the *mutaşarref* (governor of the Turkish sanjak) of al-Kerak leagued himself against them with the Hwêtât and Beni 'Atijje, defeated them, and drove them back into the desert. Ṭalâl complained of the Government's ingratitude, claiming that he had always been loyal, that with his help alone the Government had obtained possession of the settlements of al-Belka' and Ma'ân, and that if it had not been for him the Turkish engineers could not have built the Heğâz tracks as easily as they did. He warned the Government not to play with his kinsmen, lest they, compelled by hunger and want, should rob the settlers, attack the trains, and destroy the railway bridges. Having been invited by the governor, he went to Damascus in the middle of September to consult with several officials, but he accomplished nothing. The governor had inquired in Constantinople what was to be done with the Beni Şahr, had received no answer, and is said to have told Ṭalâl: "Constantinople, our head, is sick. Who there now cares for a thorn sticking into our foot?"

'Abdarrahmân Pasha Jûsef, the *emîr al-hâğğ* or chief overseer of the pilgrim caravans, had told Ṭalâl of my presence in the camp of Prince an-Nûri eben Şa'lân, and, since Ṭalâl also wished to consult with the latter, he had come from Damascus to Dmejr. After spending the night with the Prince, he paid me a visit before noon. He had grown quite old since the last time I had seen him, and his face bore the marks of great worry. He was very bitter against the governor and said he did not know what his kinsmen might yet compel him to do. After conversing with him, I visited him in the Prince's tent and gave him a letter to Jerusalem in order that he might

obtain there six thousand loaded cartridges for the Mannlicher carbines of which I had made him a present in 1901. The cartridges had been deposited in his name with a friend of mine.

The rest of the time I spent in arranging my cartographic material with the help of Tûmân. Nawwâf did not put in an appearance until after sunset and then only to scold me for forgetting all about Ḥafâġi. To excuse myself I told him that the Prince had assured me that Ḥafâġi was in good spirits and felt hungry. Nawwâf again complained that he himself was feverish and headachy, which was not to be wondered at considering that he had been eating and drinking coffee with his slaves all through the chilly and damp night in order not to be hungry or thirsty during the hot day. As long as the Rwala camped near Ḍmej̄r, where their tents were visited by the neighboring settlers, they were obliged to keep the *rama-ẓân* fast.

NEWS FROM THE DOMAIN OF EBEN RAŚÎD

Nawwâf told me that two merchants from al-Ğowf had brought his father strange news from the domain of Eben Raśîd, which had been full of unrest since the death of Prince Met‘eb eben ‘Abdal‘azîz eben ‘Abdallâh. In 1906 ‘Abdal‘azîz had been defeated and killed on the plain of aṭ-Târfiġje in the northeastern part of al-Ķaşîm. As soon as the report of his death had reached Ḥâjel, his son Met‘eb had been proclaimed his successor; but his mother’s brothers, Sulţân, Sa‘ûd, and Fejşal, sons of Ḥmûd son of ‘Obejd, had killed him and his whole family, with the exception of his brother Sa‘ûd, a boy of six. Sa‘ûd was son of ‘Abdal‘azîz’s second wife, who was a member of the Eben Subhân family. The boy had been saved by a faithful slave and had fled with the relatives of his mother to al-Medîna, where he was being brought up. Sulţân had then become prince of Ḥâjel, but in May, 1908, he in his turn had been deposed, imprisoned, and murdered by his brother Sa‘ûd, who then became prince. Taking advantage of the dissensions that followed, the adherents of the fallen ‘Abdal‘azîz had brought his son Sa‘ûd, now eight years old, from al-Medîna and proclaimed him prince. Supported by several clans, they had marched on Ḥâjel and laid siege to the town. Their partisans among the inhabitants had then opened the gates to

them and had killed Prince Saʿūd with all his following. It was stated that Fejṣal eben Rašīd, the governor of the oasis of al-Ġowf, to whom I had several letters of introduction, had also been slain, but this proved to be untrue. Fejṣal fled with his family to Prince Eben Saʿūd at ar-Rijād.

Friday and Saturday, October 9 and 10, 1908. By this time Tûmân and I had worked up the material gathered on our two excursions and had made a sketch map of the vicinity. We now started to make ready for a new trip, which was to last from fifteen to twenty days, and to get together our provisions for this time. But when I examined our baggage for the necessary stock of food, I noticed that we had used up too much food during the last fortnight. ʿAbdallâh, who had charge of our stores, maintained that it was impossible to live more frugally than we had done, and the servant Faraġ impudently reproached everyone with niggardliness who had enough and would not let others share with him. They both called on Allâh to judge between themselves and me, who accused them of dishonest manipulations. I said that I could not understand how we could have consumed three *roṭols* (almost eight kilograms) of sugar in two weeks, when during all that time I had had tea only three times in my tent, nor how we could have eaten up twenty kilograms of butter, over one hundred kilograms of flour, fifty kilograms of *burrul* (husked wheat), etc.; and that I could not see how our provisions would last us from ten to twelve months if we managed no better than during the last fortnight. At that Faraġ started laughing and bade me buy fresh provisions and more camels to carry them, averring that they could live no differently from heretofore. I then learned from Mḥammad and Tûmân that ʿAbdallâh and Faraġ were in the habit of making tea twice or even three times a night; that they made presents of bread and *burrul* to their friends; that Faraġ drank melted butter instead of water, and threw to the dogs all that remained over from supper. I felt vexed that ʿAbdallâh, whom my friends had recommended to me so warmly and who should have been my confidant and supporter, had made common cause with the black liar, Faraġ, and that, like Faraġ, he was cheating and deceiving me.

Sunday, October 11, 1908. I wished very much to visit the still unexplored territory north and south of Palmyra, because I was not sure that it would be possible to do so later

on. The Prince and Nawwâf tried to dissuade me from this, declaring that the region was the camping ground of their chief enemies and was also infested by many bands of marauders, who could easily attack, rob, and even kill me; but when I stood firmly by my purpose Nawwâf gave me his young slave, ‘Abdallâh, for a companion. We took only enough provisions for about fifteen or twenty days, because we wished to return from al-Ḳaṣṭal by way of Palmyra. In the morning Nawwâf called me and begged me to be careful not to put myself in any danger. The saddling of the animals and the loading of the provisions lasted quite a while, because neither of my servants ‘Abdallâh and Farağ was willing to help. They merely sat a little way off and gave us advice. I intended to take two pack camels: one to carry two large water bags and one to carry our baggage, since I did not want to overburden our riding animals. But ‘Abdallâh complained that he would lack camels necessary for the baggage that we left behind if I were to take two animals, assuring me that in Palmyrena we should find water enough, that on our road we should pass one well after another, and that, therefore, we need not take with us an extra animal to carry the water. I let myself be persuaded and, in order to reduce our baggage as much as possible, I left my 13 × 18 cm. photographic apparatus in the tent — something that I soon regretted. Besides the negro ‘Abdallâh, Tûmân and Mḥammad were to accompany me, and a guide with local knowledge, whom we meant to find for ourselves.

CHAPTER III

WÂDI AL-‘AŞEJFÎR TO ESRIJA BY WAY OF ‘UŽÊRIBÂT

WÂDI AL-‘AŞEJFÎR TO ĞEBB AŞ-ŞAĦR; ĞERÛD

On Sunday, October 11, 1908, at eight o'clock I left my tent, not without anxiety. The bitter experience of the last few days with my servants Faraġ and ‘Abdallâh had disturbed my mind to such an extent that I decided to dismiss both of them and find new servants. I could not hire any among the Rwala, since I should constantly have had my tent full of their friends and visitors. To get servants in Damascus was equally impossible, because I knew that townspeople were not of much use in the desert. Therefore I wished to go to al-Žerjitejn, where I had friends who could find me men on whom I could rely. I made up my mind to stop there at the beginning of the trip, find a servant, and take him with me until I returned again.

From the tent we went north along the al-‘Aşejfîr creek and after a few minutes turned northeast to the valley of al-‘Emedijje.

Numerous short *še'ibân* coming from the al-Ĥaġûle ridge and converging in the plain of Ğerûd combine to form the valley of al-‘Aşejfîr. Beginning near the village of ar-Rhejbe, the valley is watered by a stream which has cut its way through the white hillocks of al-Minkat'e on the east and al-Ma'êşre on the west. On the southern slope of al-Ma'êşre there bubbles out the sulphur spring al-Mčabrat, the water of which later joins with the al-‘Aşejfîr creek and supplies power to numerous small mills. The *še'ib* of al-‘Emedijje, which enters al-‘Aşejfîr on the left, rises in the low cross-ridge Zemlet al-‘Amâra, which connects the crest of al-Faşla with the spur of Batra to the north; al-‘Emedijje then breaks through the rolling land of al-Msejriĥa, which is bounded by the mountains of al-Morâr and ad-Dahab. Beyond this al-‘Emedijje receives on the left the *še'ib* of al-Mkejmen, which rises in the ridge of az-Zbejdi; farther west it receives, also on the left, the narrow *še'ib* of al-Bâb; it then separates the slope of al-Mķêre'e from the dome-shaped al-Minkat'e hills, and finally joins the valley of al-‘Aşejfîr near a large mill.

At 9.42 we left the *še'ib* of al-‘Emedijje to go north, as we were trying to find the camp of the ‘Umûr tribe, from among whom we wished to take a guide. One hour later we

saw the gardens of the village of ar-Rĥejbe and, heading north-northeast, entered a large lowland in which we rested near the Ğebb aş-Şaĥr wells from 12.08 to 2.14 P. M. This lowland is shut in on the north by the high mountain chain of al-Ĥaġûle, al-Ĥaġla, and Şe‘eb al-Lôz. At its base, by the as-Sultâni road, lie the settlements and gardens of Ğerûd, al-Waşa, al-‘Aţne, an-Nâşrijje, and Kena Ğowĥa.

The run-off from the whole surrounding country finds its way into the lowland in which these settlements lie. Water remains under the top soil, thus assuring crops both in the large gardens and in the smaller cultivated tracts. Salt works in the vicinity also help to provide a living for the population, which at Ğerûd numbers about three thousand.³

³ Of the older history of Ğerûd not much remains. The classical authorities called the place Geroda.

According to the *Antonine Itinerary*, 196: 1, Geroda (*var.*, Cheroda, Gerosa) was a station on the road from Eumari (Ĥawwârin) to Damascus. It did not belong to Palmyrena.

In 451 A. D. the metropolitan Theodore of Damascus signed the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon in the name of his suffragan Peter from the town of Coradaei (Lat. text: Coradaenorum), and this same "Petrus episcopus Coradensis" in 458 joined in a petition from the bishops of the province of Phoenicia to the emperor Leo (Harduin, *Conciliorum collectio* [Paris, 1715], Vol. 2, cols. 485 f., 720).

"Eulogius episcopus Danabon" and "Theodorus episcopus Coradensium" participated in the fifth oecumenical synod in Constantinople in 553 (Mansi, *Concilia* [1759—1798], Vol. 9, col. 394). That Coradaei and Coradensis can refer to no other place than Geroda (Ğerûd) is evident from the list of bishops subordinate to Theodore, the metropolitan of Damascus, as Harduin, *op. cit.*, col. 486, recorded them. These were: "Joannes civitatis Palmyrae," "Cochena civitatis Danaborum" (*var.*, "Dada Chonacharorum"), "Eusebius civitatis Jabrudorum," "Theodorus civitatis Dabrurum," "Abraamius civitatis Alanorum" (*var.*, "Arlanorum"), and "Petrus civitatis Coradaenorum." The Greek text has, instead of "Cochena civitatis Danaborum," "Dada poleos Chonacharon"; and, instead of "Abraamius civitatis Alanorum," "Abraamios poleos Archaeon." — Instead of "Cochena civitatis Danaborum" should stand "Dadas episcopus Chomocharenus" (or "Chonacharon"), as is indicated by this bishop's signature recorded in Harduin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, col. 720, and by the variations (Mansi, *op. cit.*, Vol. 7, col. 169): "Dadapoles Chona Charon," "Dadacrum bonocha," "Dadacorum bonocha." The settlement of Conna lay between Laodicia Scabiosa and Heliopolis, where Râs Ba‘albekk is now situated. I. Benzinger (Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, Vol. 7, col. 1547) gives the names "Chomokara," "Comoara," and "Chorokara," although none of these can be found either in Le Quien, *Oriens christianus* (1740), Vol. 2, col. 848, from whom he quotes, or in Harduin or Mansi. Benzinger, *loc. cit.*, would identify al-Kâra with the Coara and Goaria of Ptolemy, *Geography*, V, 14: 14 and 19; this, however, is impossible, as Coara lay in Chalcidice and Goaria in Palmyrena, whereas a town on the present site of al-Kâra would have been located by Ptolemy in Laodicene. A similar observation applies to the identification of al-Kâra with the Coara given as the seat of the Bishop Gerontius, who signed the decision of the Nicene Council in 325; "Gerontius episcopus Coarae" was one of the bishops of Syria, but al-Kâra lies in what was the province of Phoenicia of those times. After all, the reading "Coarae" is not correct. Harduin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, col. 314, gives "Leontius Larissenus" and Gelzer, *Patrum nicaenorum nomina* (1898), pp. 18 f., gives in the Latin text "Carison," "Carisiensis," "Larisa," (*var.*, "Charisson," "Cariensis," "Lurissae"), but in all the other texts (*op. cit.*, pp. 60, 63, 85, 103) "Larissa." Moritz, *Palmyrene*, p. 22, note 3, writes that Kâra must be identical with the "Charran" of Le Quien, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, cols. 849 f., and this because the latter place was situated in Coele-Syria. But the Christian town of Kâra never was in Coele-Syria, for the country around it, since about 195 A. D., had been a part of the praetorian province of Syria Phoenices. Thus Ulpian (*Corpus iuris civilis*, *Digesta*, L, 15: 1, writes that the Emperor Septimius Severus granted *jus coloniae* to "Emisene civitati Phoenices." In Le Quien, *loc. cit.*, reference is made to the Christian Arabian writer, Theodore Abu Kara, bishop of Charran, a town lying several hundred kilometers northeast of al-Kâra (see Migne, *Patrol. graeca*, Vol. 97, col. 1446).

In some manuscripts relating to the synod at Constantinople in 553 instead of "Theodorus civitatis Dabrurum" we have the variants (Mansi, *op. cit.*, Vol. 7, col. 169) "Danaborum" or "Dababorum," and the bishop signs (Harduin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, col. 720) "Theodorus episcopus Castridanabeni," that is, "bishop of Danaba Fort," or the al-Basîri of today.

In considering the name "Alanorum" with its variants (Mansi, *loc. cit.*) "Arlanorum," "Archaeorum," or "Uranensis" (Harduin, *loc. cit.*), we are led to the "Archaeon" of the Greek

On the southeast, south, and northeast the lowland of Ġerūd is shut in by the following elevations in order from south to north: the mountain spurs of al-Hwa' and al-Min-kaṭ'e; the height of Tell ad-Dahab; the low ridge of Batra, the broad Zemlet 'Omar Âra, and the spurs of the high black mountain of al-Rurâb. Nearly in the center of the lowland lies the salina Mellâha Ġerūd, which is about three and a half kilometers long by three kilometers wide. The environs of the Mellâha, which receives its water from about two-thirds of the whole lowland, are saturated with salt. In many places gypsum is mined. On the edges of the salina about fifteen small houses had been put up for the guards.

ĠEBB AŞ-ŞAĦR TO AL-RURÂB. THE 'UMÛR

Between the Ġebb aş-Şaĥr and the salina we passed a government building, the residence of the salt procurer.

West of the Ġebb aş-Şaĥr by the spring 'Ujûn al-Ĉlâb stood the tents of the Rijât clan of the 'Umûr tribe. From among them I hired a guide named Nazzâl eben 'Ali.

The 'Umûr's camping grounds lie between Tlûl al-'Ijât, al-Žerjitejn, and Tudmor. The tribe numbers about six hundred tents and consists of the following clans:

al-Rijât	(chief: Ġâsem eben Mihbâš)
Âl abu Ĥarba' (al-Ĥarbâwi)	(„ Šlâš walad 'Err)
Âl Hersân	(„ Sultân eben Mihbâš)
Mahârše	(„ 'Addâb eben Nowmân)
Âl 'Elêwi	(„ Swêlem eben Slejjem)
al-Burķu'	(„ Faraġ âl Dur'ân)
Âl Ġarrâĥ	(„ Rubejje' eben Ġedû')
Âl Ĥamîs	(„ Šâleĥ eben Ĉerĥ)
Âl Hasan	(„ Ĥalaf eben Maṭlaĥ)
Âl Râšed	(„ Šejrân eben Râšed)
Furrâ'	(„ Sa'ûd eben Melĥem).

(This last clan camps with the chief Eben Mezjed [or Eben Melĥem] of the al-Ĥsene tribe.)

text, the "Adacha" (from "Aracha") of Ptolemy, the "Harac" of the *Peutinger Table*, and to the modern Arak, twenty-five kilometers northeast of Palmyra. Thus we see that the settlements of Arak, Palmyra, and Danaba to the northeast, and of Jabrūd and Conna (Râs Ba'albekk) to the northwest of Coradaei (Korada: Gerodai or Ġerūd) were under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan of Damascus.

The Syriac manuscripts (Wright, *Catalogue* [1870—1872], pp. 709, col. 2; 712, col. 2) mention Ġuradoje'. Nöldeke, *Topographie* (1875), p. 424, connects Ġuradoje' with the Kurds, which is impossible, as "Ġuradoje'" is written with *Ġ* and "Kurd" with *K* (cf. Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 880, col. 2).

In 743 Jazîd (Yazid) ibn al-Walîd, the adversary of the caliph Walîd II, left his country seat near al-Kastal (aṭ-Tabari, *Ta'riĥ* [De Goeje], Ser. 2, p. 1788) and, escorted by seven men, rode secretly on a donkey to Damascus, a journey of four days. In Ġerūd, a day's march from Damascus, the people gave him food. The following night he arrived in Damascus, where he was proclaimed Caliph.—

Our guide led us northeast along the southern edge of the salina, which shone like an ice field of wondrous beauty; the reflection of the sun's rays from it almost blinded us. The salty soil changes gradually into a sandy tract. East of the Mellâha the plain is covered many meters deep with drifts of white sand, so fine and shifting that everything sinks in when placed upon it. These drifts are called aṭ-Ṭu'ûs. Out of the sand rise countless remnants of harder sandstone, so grotesquely shaped that from afar they look like the ruins of a great city. These fantastic shapes undoubtedly inspired the popular tradition that on the very place where the salina now extends once stood Lot's city, which for the greater part has sunken below the surface. The sand between the rocks forms either level or hollowed surfaces, on which no one has ever set foot. It seemed as if even our camels instinctively felt the danger lurking in these places, for they steadily made for the south and shied when we urged them to go nearer the sand drifts. West of aṭ-Ṭu'ûs we noticed the gardens of the settlement of an-Nâşrijje. To the north were many wells and small ruins called al-Mağrûne or al-Mağnûne, by the side of which a clan of the Weld 'Ali was camping. Although we rode at a considerable distance from their tents, a Welêd'i, who took us for itinerant traders, came and demanded the fee which is always exacted from strangers passing through the territory of some tribes. Not succeeding in his errand, he returned with a wry face to his people.

As our camels had found no pasture at noon, we stopped at 4.26 by the foot of the Batra ridge (temperature: 20° C), where *rûte*, *şîh*, *rimt*, *mwaşşal*, and other perennials (*şağar*) grew in abundance. Taking off the baggage we aired the saddles a little, tied the reins tight to the girths, and handed the animals over to Nazzâl. Mḥammad gathered dried camel manure (*ğelle*), by which he baked bread and cooked *burṛul* (husked wheat). 'Abdallâh prepared our coffee. Tûmân climbed

If the distance between Damascus and Ğerûd is thus determined as a day's march, it is evident that Yazid's country seat should not to be looked for near the settlement of al-Ḳaṣṭal lying 16 kilometers north-northwest of Ğerûd, but in the vicinity of the al-Ḳaṣṭal ruins 140 kilometers northeast of Ğerûd.

Jākūt, *Mu'ğam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 2, p. 65, places Ğerûd in the administrative district of Ma'lûla' of the political district Rûta Dimaşk.

Ibn Ḥallikân (al-Makrîzî, *Sulūk* [Quatremère's transl.], Vol. 1, Part 2, pp. 262f.) writes that Ğerûd is a settlement in the political district of Damascus in the direction of Homs and that in that region there are many wild asses; also that there is a hill there, the summit of which is at all times enveloped with haze-like smoke, wherefore it is called al-Mudahḥen (the smoking one).—

It is interesting to note that as late as the end of the thirteenth century there were still so many wild asses about Ğerûd. The hill of al-Mudahḥen is undoubtedly identical with Abu Rubâh, seventy kilometers northeast of Ğerûd.

the nearest hill with me and sketched a map of the vicinity. After sunset Nazzâl brought the camels home from the pasture, and we made them kneel about our camp and tied the left leg of each above the knee, lest she run away. After a while a shepherd joined us and spent the night with us, together with his flock of about a hundred head of sheep.

Monday, October 12, 1908. The night was again very cold. The sheep lying about us had risen after midnight and gone to their pasture. The camels became restless; therefore we got up at five o'clock and untied them so that they could graze; then we prepared breakfast and at 6.10 A. M. were on the road. We now went through a valley bounded on the north by the elevation Zemlet 'Omar Âra and on the south by the ridge of Batra and its spurs Nkûb al-Bîr and Laşşâfet az-Zab'.

We were all eager for some warming rays of sunshine, because the temperature was only 5.2° C; but the sun failed to show itself. No sooner had its first rays given a rosy tinge to the summits of the mountain range of Še'eb al-Lôz to the north than they again disappeared behind thick clouds. The color of the summits then became dark blue, almost black, and that of the sky a dirty yellow. A stiff, chilling wind from the east kept blowing our cloaks and thin shirts, uncovering our bare knees, and making us feel still colder.

At seven o'clock we heard growling and stamping behind us and saw thick clouds of dust, which enveloped hundreds — nay, thousands — of camels, running with the utmost speed to the northeast. Frightened by something, they had broken away from their herdsman, and we had to hold our animals as tight as we could lest they also follow the bad example and run away. Turning eastwards, we observed many herds rolling together avalanche-like to the northeast. Each herd was led by an old she-camel, now pacing, now trotting, and now madly galloping ahead. The other animals of her herd followed her example. My companions alighted and ran towards the camels, coaxing them, calling them to come near and graze. Some of them wanted to obey and turned in our direction, but they were only swept along by the rest of the herd. Their herdsman rode after them, both on horseback and on camels, trying to get ahead of them by making a wide detour. When the men reached our troop, they jumped off their mounts and left them in our care; then, throwing off their

cloaks, they ran as fast as they could to their respective herds, forcing them either south or northward to make them lose sight of the other herds. But only one succeeded in getting his herd to the foot of Zemlet ‘Omar Âra, behind a small elevation whence the other fugitives could no longer be seen. For a while the frightened animals ran about, trembling, but soon became quiet again and began to graze. The other herds went on running for about twenty kilometers farther to the northeast, until they were stopped by a number of riders from the Ešâğē’a clan. As long as the various herds were rushing by us and until they had disappeared from the horizon, it was difficult for us to keep in the saddle and not be thrown off by the rearing animals. The Bedouin says, not without reason, that there are eleven thousand devils in the head of every camel.

On our right we noticed numerous paths leading through the passes Nkûb al-Bîr to the wells Bijâr abu Hĵâja. At 9.02 we reached the defile Tenijjet Maksar walad Nimr, which separates the broad elevation Zemlet ‘Omar Âra from the al-Rurâb mountain. Here we saw a flock of more than fifty gazelles, which disappeared quickly. The plain through which we were passing ascends gradually towards the northeast. At 9.30 we arrived at the watershed between the Mellâha Ğerûd and the rain pool Habra az-Zab’ to the east. This pool lies in a rocky hollow on the western edge of the Dawwat az-Zab’ basin, shut in on the north by the al-Rurâb mountain and its spurs, al-‘Enejž and al-Mḥasse, on the east by the two dark, isolated hills, al-‘Abd and al-‘Abde, on the southeast and south by the border mountain chain of ar-Rawâḵ already mentioned, and on the southwest by the ridge of az-Zbejdi, with its spur Zemlet ‘Omar Âra.

As the summit of the high mountain of al-Rurâb was visible both from the Ab-al-Ğerwe and Ab-al-Ķôs summits, we meant to extend our triangles from it farther east and northeast. For this reason we tried to ride by a zigzag route, keeping as high up as possible; this was also beneficial to our camels, since the higher, the better the pasture. But as one of our animals had fallen by eleven o’clock, unable to go any farther, we had to stop and try to reach the summit on foot. Accompanied by Nazzâl and burdened with the necessary instruments and drinking water, we crawled rather than walked for fully forty-six minutes before attaining the summit (temperature: 23° C).

The view, however, rewarded us richly for our exertions. On the southwest there shone like a burning lake of ice the salt surface of the Mellâha Ġerûd, bounded on the east by almost blood-colored rocky bluffs, partly covered by rosy sand. The gardens of an-Nâşrijje, 'Aţna, and Ġerûd stood out like dark green islands in the grayish-yellow bottom land, through which ran, like a yellow ribbon, the as-Sultâni road, connecting Damascus with Palmyra. Northeast of the hamlet of an-Nâşrijje, past the dilapidated watchtower Kal'at al-Ĥamra and the demolished Ĥân Ġnejġel,⁴ a branch road leads northward through the gap Tenijjet al-Ĥakla.

Northeast of the defile of al-Ĥakla is the mountain chain called Še'eb al-Lôz. Its southern slope is not as steep as that of the border chain of ar-Rawâk. Clearly to be seen were two terraces which broaden out still more at about the center of the Še'eb al-Lôz, east of the defile of az-Za'ûnijje, and then run southeast. Above the last-mentioned defile, towering far to the northwest, stands the sharp cone Halimt al-Kâra, the highest point in this part of the country. To the northeast the Še'eb al-Lôz sinks into a wide ridge called Rawâbi-t-Taĥin and ends in a broad height, Maşkûkt Mhîn. South of the Še'eb al-Lôz runs the valley of al-Ķalabijjât, which begins east of the road leading from the Ĥân al-Abjaz to the gap of aš-Še'eb. This valley is shut in on the south by the al-Rurâb mountain and its spur, al-'Enejž, as well as by the low domes of Rûs aţ-Twâl, al-Mzejble, and al-Ġbejl. South of these a chain of hills reaches eastward to the ar-Rawâk range, a northern spur of which, the black mountain of al-Bârde, appeared widely separated from the southern black mountain of Raţtûs and the yellowish Keĥle. Southwest of the last-named the chain of ar-Rawâk is called Ġebel an-Nuṣrâni; above its low, flat ridge rise the broad summits of 'Âde and ar-Rmâĥ and between these those of Kal'at Tejr. Ġebel an-Nuṣrâni extends southwest almost to the defile of ad-Delle, to the southwest of which stretches the mountain of al-Buţmi, on the west separated by the al-Waḡḡa gap from the Ĥejmûr mountain. The Ĥejmûr reaches to the gap Tenijjet al-Jabârde, above which rise on the west the mountains Ma'râţ al-Ķrejže and on the east the high az-Zbejdi. To the southwest of the last named we sighted the whitewashed stone pyramids built by us on the tops of Ab-al-Ġerwe and Ab-al-Kôs. Through the al-Waḡḡa gap the yellowish walls of the Ĥân al-Manḳûra ruin could be seen.

The top of al-Rurâb is bare rock, without anything growing there at all except a few stunted *swêdât* bushes hidden among the rocks. Our guide spoke of ibexes often coming there in great numbers, but we did not see any.

AL-RURÂB TO ĤÂN AL-MANḲÛRA

Having finished our work with the theodolite, we returned to our men, loaded the baggage, and departed at 4.17 (temperature: 20.1° C). At first we led our animals because

⁴ Ġnejġel is identical with Ġulejġel, which Jākût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 109, asserts was a khan two days from Damascus on the desert road to al-Ķarjatân.

of the steep slope, and we did not mount again until we reached the plain Dawwat az-Zab[‘]; then we hurried as fast as we could southeast to the gap Tenijjet al-Wazḥa. When we rode here between two camps of the Ešâḡe‘a, subjects of the chief Eben Meḡel, two riders demanded tribute of us for passing through. Recognizing me, they apologized and invited me to dismount and enter the tents as their guest; but this I declined with thanks.

I accepted hospitality only when it was absolutely necessary, and even then I gave orders not to put our baggage in our host's tent but to leave it outside, next to the men's compartment. Preferably I lodged in a lonely hollow and, if this were not possible, at a distance from some camp, but never in a tent. He who enters a tent has to adapt himself to the customs of the country, to wait for his supper until almost midnight, and after supper to sit by the fire again and take part in the conversation. For his bed the host allots him rugs and covers, which are seldom, if ever, clean; and then he has to lie among the other guests. In the morning the esteemed guest must not leave without breakfast and has to wait with patience while it is leisurely prepared for him after sunrise. Before he can seat himself on his animal the servant stretches out his hand and the host, too, expects the guest to pay for the cost of his entertainment. The negro or the servant who makes the coffee must also receive at least one *meḡîdijje* (90 cents). So the noble guest has to give something to everybody; and in addition he has to give thanks for the favor done him and praise the liberality of the tent when he finally leaves, thankful to get away, though still hungry and sleepy.

Scarcely had we pitched our camp at 5.32 (temperature: 18°C) about two kilometers south of the Ešâḡe‘a encampments when the stout chief Nâşer eben Meḡel came to us on horseback with a barefooted servant trotting behind him. He sat down on my rug and inquired why I did not honor his tent by entering it as his guest. He then began to boast both of his wealth and generosity and to entreat me to order my men to load our baggage on the camels again and go to him. His companion expressed regret at not having heard of our arrival sooner, since they would have ridden out to meet me and have arranged a sham battle (*le‘eb al-ḥejl*) in my honor. Soon afterwards three more chiefs arrived, all of whom sat down by me and then ate and drank with us, meanwhile in-

viting us to get up at once and go to them, where we should be treated like princes. When supper was over the chief, nestling still closer to me, whispered:

"An-Nûri eben Ša'lân is a chief and I, Nâşer eben Me'ġel, am likewise a chief. Give me a few piasters that I may buy a cloak ('*aba*')"; to which I replied:

"I know very well that thou, Nâşer eben Me'ġel, art also a chief, and I will gladly give thee a present worthy of thyself, but not here nor in this manner. Come to my tent some time and there all thou wishest shall be ready for thee, if it be Allâh's will (*in šâ allâh*)."

Hearing this, the chief got up and rode away with his men without a word. But we all exclaimed "*al-ḥamdu lillâh*" that Allâh had ridden us of such hosts.

Tuesday, October 13, 1908. The minimum temperature shown by our thermometer was 0.3° C. This made us get up as early as 4.40 A.M. and, after warming ourselves a little, take to our saddles at 5.48 and go east-southeast over the plain Dawwat az-Zab' to the al-Wazḥa gap. After sunrise the temperature rose to 3.1° C. To the southwest the somewhat long but low height of Taraḡ at-Tmede was to be seen and behind it two rocks, Idân ad-Dîb, projecting above the wells of Abu Hġâja. Our guide showed me a rift in the northern slope of the az-Zbejdi mountain, where there is a well, Ġebb az-Zbejdi, a favorite meeting place for small robber bands. South of this well a road leads through the pass of an-Nijâs to the basin of al-Mkejmen and to Dmejir. Another well, Ġebb al-Fâ'i, is located at the beginning of the al-Jabârde gap but has little water in it. The plain which rises slowly towards the south was covered with small bunches of *ḥudrâf*, just then in blossom. This plant is from five to ten centimeters high, has a single stem bearing a corolla from three to six centimeters wide and almost round, and flowers in nearly all shades of color with the exception of blue and black.

At seven o'clock we reached the al-Wazḥa gap separating the highland of al-Buṭmi on the east from that of Hejmûr on the west. Another defile branches off to the west-southwest, winding between the mountains of Hejmûr on the east and al-Čabš on the west and leading to a basin about three kilometers in width bounded by the mountains of al-Čabš, al-Hanejzîr, and Ma'râz al-Krejže. Having reached the highest point of the first defile at 7.50, we followed the *še'ib* of al-Manġûra, through which the run-off flows down to the rain

pond of aš-Šubejče. Here and there in the rocky river bed artificial hollows were to be seen and on its banks luxuriantly growing *rûte*. The slopes here are not steep but very stony. At 8.46 we found a strong wall across the še‘ib and east of it an artificial aqueduct, where we halted at 8.50 in order to start afoot to the Hân al-Manķûra. But as the al-Waḥḥa gap affords a very convenient connection between the north and the south sides of the range and the Ešâġe‘a were camped due north of it, we feared that marauders of the Ahâli al-Ġebel might be lurking somewhere near. For this reason we hid our camels in a deep gully and sent ‘Abdallâh to a high pile of stones not far off to watch the whole neighborhood. Leaving Mḥammad with the camels and the baggage and taking the necessary instruments, the rest of us went to the ruins, at a distance of about six hundred paces south.

The Hân al-Manķûra lies on the southern base of the al-Buṭmi mountains. To the south, southeast, and southwest a vast rolling plain spreads out, bounded on the northeast by the mountains Kehle, Kḥejle, and ar-Rmâḥ, and east of these by the table mountain ‘Âde. In the plain east of the ruins rises the long height Taraḡ abu Dâlje, which runs from southwest to northeast. Far to the southwest the black Tlûl al-‘Ijât could be seen.

The Roman fort known as the Hân al-Manķûra (Figs. 3 and 4) forms a rectangle approximately 90 meters long from west to east by 82 meters wide. The rampart wall, which is 2.2 meters thick, is strengthened at each corner by a rounded tower. From the centers of the north and south sides similar towers rise; there are also two towers each on the western and eastern sides, between which gates lead into the fort. No traces of walls can be seen within the yard. Behind the fortress, by the southwest corner, a reservoir was built 63 meters long from north to south by 43 meters wide, divided by a wall into two unequal parts. In the smaller northern part, the rain water was caught and the sediment deposited, while the cleared water flowed over the wall into the southern part.⁵

⁵ The Hân al-Manķûra I consider to be the Roman station of Casama shown on the *Peutinger Table* (Vienna, 1888), Segm. 10, and the Kuṣam of the Arabic authorities.

Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 124, repeats older reports that Kuṣam is a place in the desert near Syria, but that it belongs to Irak; and that Hâled on his march to Syria passed there before reaching Tadmur. — Jâkût traveled through Palmyrena, visited al-Zerjitejn and apparently Tadmur also, but he was ignorant of the location of the watering place of Kuṣam. It is thus evident that even before his time Kuṣam must have received another name.

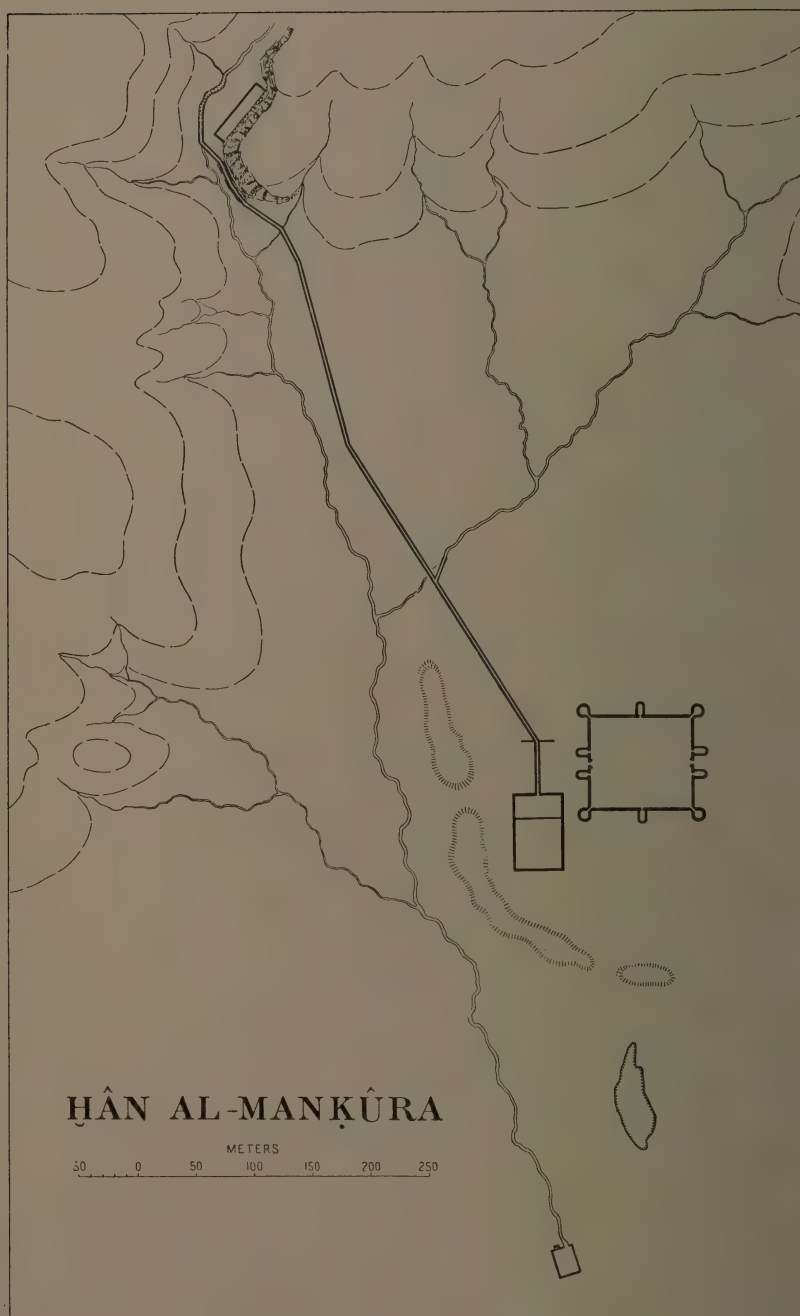


FIG. 3—Hân al-Manḳûra and environs, plan.

THE HÂN AL-MANKÛRA TO AL-ŽERJITEJN

Returning to our baggage at 11.36, we found it already loaded and the camels prepared for departure. After having drunk a little tea, we left hurriedly for the north at 11.48.

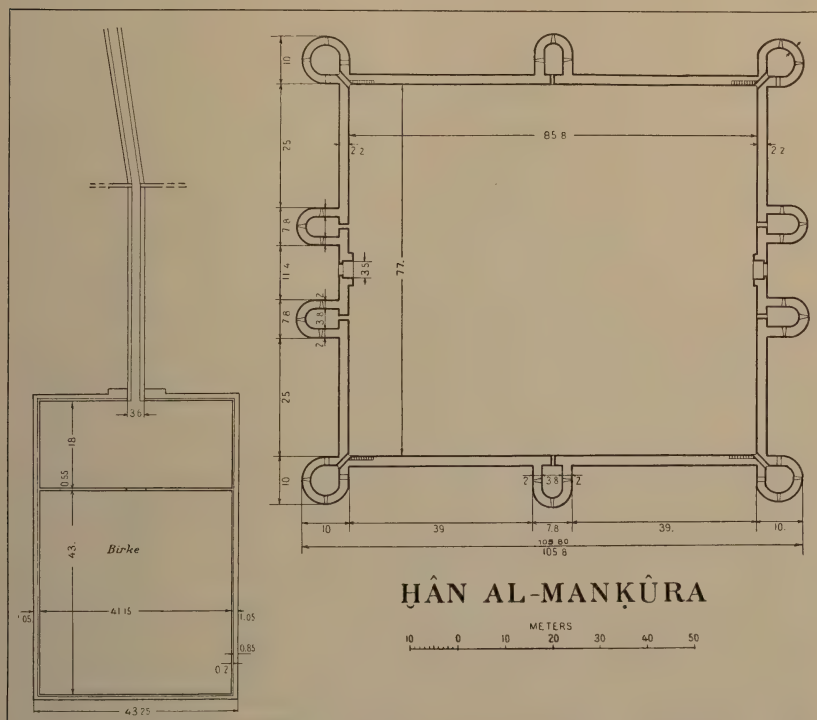


FIG. 4—Hân al-Mankûra, plan.

I should have liked very much to have gone in an easterly direction to the Ḥân ʿAnejbē and then through the pass of al-Ḥufejjēr northwards, but my companions feared an attack from our enemies; besides this, Nazzâl, our guide, declared that the road through al-Ḥufejjēr was impassable for camels. Therefore there was no choice for us but to return by way of the gap of al-Waẓḥa. Nazzâl told us that in the preceding winter the snow about the Ḥân al-Manḵûra and in the mountains of al-Buṭmi for three weeks had lain over half a meter deep and that the cold was so intense that in his camp children

had died of it. And now, in the middle of October, the sun was shining warmly and the swallows flying about our camels, catching the countless flies which we had brought with us from the Ḥân al-Manḡûra. Flies had crawled over our backs as we passed through the ruins and had returned every time we chased them away. On reaching the plain Dawwat az-Zab', we turned north-northeast and made our way along the northern foot of the al-Buṭmi mountains towards the two dark hills of al-'Abd and al-'Abde. On the ridges to our right we saw scattered *buṭum* (terebinth trees), the fruit of which, called *kzâma*, is picked with great care. The 'Umûr as well as the *fellâhîn* from al-Žerjitejn and Tudmor press oil out of it and eat it with bread. 'Abdallâh caught a hedgehog about half the size of the English variety and hid it in his bag to roast and eat afterwards. To the north we saw numerous herds of camels returning from the watering places at al-Žerjitejn. Shortly afterwards three riders reached us; they had taken us from afar for enemy's spies and were very glad to find that we were friends instead.

By 2.25 P.M. we were at the foot of the isolated hill of al-'Abd, which is quite black and cleft in two. Rising to the southeast is the similar but much larger hill of al-'Abde, which consists of five blocks of rock separated by deep rifts. Having ridden between these two hills, we turned towards the northeast at the foot of the white limestone height, Ṭaraḡ al-Ḳannâṣ, which stretches northeastward. We urged on our animals in order to reach the wells of al-Ḥufejjer as soon as possible, for besides watering our camels we also wished to fill our water bags.

The plain we were passing over merges gradually into a tract of countless white hillocks, among which, at 4.50, we found the wells of al-Ḥufejjer. Two were abandoned or "dead" (*majjete*); the third, situated on the left side of a gully of the same name, was untouched, and we were greatly surprised not to find traces of visitors anywhere about. The reason for this we found, however, in letting our canvas bucket down the well and pulling it up again. It was filled with yellow, evil-smelling water full of rotting locusts. And since the well had not been cleaned, the water was undrinkable and generally avoided.⁶

⁶ Abu-l-Faraḡ, *Arâni* (Bûlâk, 1285 A. H.), Vol. 20, p. 121, records that some divisions of the Kalb tribe were attacked by the Beni Numejr in Ḥufejjer and al-Faras. —

I look for Ḥufejjer and al-Faras east of al-Žerjitejn. Al-Faras lies about fifty kilometers northeast from there, but Ḥufejjer may well be identified with our watering place.

Mounting our camels again, we rode fast to al-Žerjitejn. Both to the left and right we noticed stone quarries, from which came the splendid building material used in the building of the fortress al-Ḥoṣṇ as well as of the walls of Tell al-‘Ajn above the spring of Umm al-Ḳelâjed south of the settlement of al-Žerjitejn. The ride was not pleasant. Our animals as well as we ourselves were tired out and wished to rest, but there was no water; and, moreover, it was dangerous to camp on the road from al-Ḥufejjer, since it was frequented by marauders hiding among the white hillocks. Very soon we observed many fires—tokens of a large encampment; but for a long time they seemed to be white, a proof that we were at least five kilometers away. Not until they appeared red did we hear the barking of dogs. Finally, at eight o’clock, we lay down to sleep not far from the tents.

Wednesday, October 14, 1908. We had no rest that night, as thousands of camels passed by on their way to the watering places. Having watered our animals in a brook which brings water from the abundant spring of Umm al-Ḳelâjed to the southern gardens and fields of the al-Žerjitejn settlement, we rode northwest over many aqueducts, most of them about five meters deep and provided with cleaning holes about a hundred paces apart. This brought us to the spring of al-Ġedje west of the settlement, where we unloaded our baggage. Accompanied by Mḥammad, I rode on a camel’s back to the monastery of Dejr Mar Elijjân, about one kilometer northwest of the settlement, supposing that a Syrian Catholic priest lived there. The sanctuary is a square complex of buildings with a small church, where the grave of St. Elijjân is the object of worship. Next to the building on the west in a garden there is a spring, ‘Ajn Ġennet an-Našâra, which fills a small pond abounding in fish. In the last two years everything had been repaired and the garden surrounded by a wall about two meters high. Dismounting before a low iron-bound gate, we knocked, but nobody opened. The house seemed to be deserted. Thinking I could get in from the garden, I went round and found in the eastern garden wall several breaches made by the Bedouins; the garden itself was in a bad state.

The Syrian priest, or *ḳassîs*, Philip did not live in the house of Mar Elijjân but in the settlement, where I went to see him. I begged him to find me a reliable servant; which he obligingly did, sending for a young man who was willing to go with us.

Having made an agreement with the latter as to the wages, I promised to stop for him on my return and to take him with me to my tent. After this I went to the *mudîr*, or representative of the Government, and then to the officer in command of the gendarmes stationed there, whom I asked for a mounted gendarme as my guide. As my route was to take me through the territory northeast of al-Žerjitejn, a camping ground of both herdsmen and *fellâhîn* to whom a gendarme is an object of fear, he was to be a visible sign that I was traveling with the consent of the Government and he would save me from their impertinences. The *mudîr* granted my request very readily, giving me as a companion the gendarme Ḥaġġi Mḥammad, who was to come at noon with his horse to our baggage. The horse caused me not a little worry, because we had to take along barley and water for him and our animals were, to say the least, already overburdened.

The settlement was full of Bedouins, who entered houses at will and acted as if they were masters there. They came even into the *ḵassîs* Philip's room on the second floor, seated themselves, and asked for coffee and something to eat. When the *ḵassîs* reminded them that they should keep the fast, it being the month of *ramazân*, they merely laughed and bade him bring what they wanted. The five gendarmes stationed in the settlement for its protection were openly laughed at by them. Returning to my companions, I found them in a very unpleasant situation. They were surrounded by Bedouins who demanded the same tax from us that wandering merchants have to pay. I finally succeeded, partly by reasoning, partly by force, in convincing them that we were no traders at all and that we would not give them anything. We were heartily glad when we could at last leave the place at 1.40 P. M.

AL-ŽERJITEJN TO ABU RUBÂḤ; THE FWÂ'RE

After riding in a northwesterly direction across the broad cultivated plain of as-Sahl, we ascended the limestone elevation Ḥazm aṣ-Ŝâjeh, which stretches from west to east. To the southwest was seen the ad-Dawwa lowland with the shallow river bed of al-Ḳalabijjât twining through it. This lowland is bounded on the north by the Še'eb al-Lôz and its spurs al-Ḳawdân and Mašḵûkt Mhîn. From the latter the plateau of ar-Rmejle extends to the north. We went in the direction of

the last-named through the bare undulating region of Zahrât al-Ḥarrûba, and camped at 4.20 in the *še'ib* of as-Sijâr, not far from the tents of the Fwâ're. Before long several of the latter made their appearance, but to our inquiries regarding the territory on the northeast they gave conflicting answers.

The Fwâ're have about six hundred tents. The principal chief is Hmejjed aş-Šibli. The clans are:

al-Arâmne	(chief: Hmejjed aş-Šibli)
al-‘Alzawijjîn	(„ Salâme eben ‘Afnân)
at-Twêmât	(„ Salâme al-‘Azzâwi)
al-Hanânme	(„ ‘Aqlat al-‘Awwâz)
al-Bahâdle	(„ Farâğ az-Za‘êter)
al-Hanâdze	(„ ‘Ali al-‘Adlân)
aṭ-Trejġe	(„ Mḥammad al-Hmejdân)
az-Zijâdne	(„ Salâme al-Melhem)
al-Ma‘êdijjîn	(„ Mḥammad al-Mṣêṭef)
al-Masâ id	(„ ‘Ali Ibrâhîm)
at-Twênân	(„ Ḥalaf al-Ġâsem).

Thursday, October 15, 1908. At 6.15 A. M. (temperature: 16°C) we started over the Wdijân an-Nijâşa plain in a north-westerly direction and soon came to the small poor hamlet of al-Ṛontor, made from the ruins of the same name.⁷

Southwest of this hamlet lie the settlements of al-Ḥawwârîn⁸ and Mhîn, where there are numerous remains of large ancient buildings.

⁷ Al-Bekri, *Muġam* (Wüstenfeld), pp. 411f., states that Sejfaddowle (944—967 A. D.), on his expedition against the nomads, marched to the waters of al-Furkulus and al-Ṛuntur. Jâkût, *Muġam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 3, p. 819, records that Ṛuntur is a valley between the towns of Ḥomş and Salamja.

⁸ Asurbanipal (Rassam Cylinder [Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. 5, pl. 7], col. 7, l. 111; Streck, *Assurbanipal* [1916], Vol. 2, pp. 64, 66) defeated the Arabs who supported his antagonist, the Babylonian king Šamašsumukîn, in the neighborhood of the city of Ḥa-u-ri-na.

Zachaeus and the young son of the widow whom the Savior raised from the dead were tortured to death in Ḥawwârîn in the desert (Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* [Chabot], Vol. 4, p. 93).

Ptolemy, *Geography*, V, 14: 19, knew of a town called Aueria or Aueira, which in all probability may be identified with our Ḥawwârîn.

The *Antonine Itinerary*, 195: 9 (Parthey and Pinder edit., p. 88), mentions a station of Eumari, distant about forty miles from the station of Geroda. — Eumari was the starting point of a road leading by way of Geroda (the Ġerūd of today) to Damascus. It is almost certain that an important caravan road led to Eumari from Palmyra and very likely another led thither from Seriane (Esrija, Serija) by way of Occariba (‘Uzêribât). It seems that Eumari never belonged to Palmyrena proper.

About 400 A. D. Euhara was apportioned to the province Phoenices Secunda, or Phoenices Libanensis. The *scutarii Illyriciani* cavalrymen once camped there (*Notitia dignitatum*, Oriens, 32, nos. 4, 19).

The acts of the Council of Chalcedon were signed among others by Thomas, bishop of Euaria (Lat. text: Theonas episcopus Euariae) (Harduin, *Conciliorum collectio* [Paris, 1715], Vol. 2, cols. 473f.; Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* [Chabot], Vol. 4, p. 199).

The signature of the same Thomas, as “episcopus Euariae,” a subordinate of the metropolitan of Damascus, is also appended to a petition of the bishops of the province of Phoenicia Secunda (Mansi, *Concilia* [1759—1798], Vol. 7, col. 559).

The *Chronica minora* (Brooks, p. 227) and Michael the Syrian (*op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 267) say that after 520 A. D. the monophysite bishops Thomas of Jabrūd, John of Tadmur, John

Southwest of al-Rontor flows the good spring 'Ajn al-Hadaṭ and north of it the 'Ajn al-Kṣejbe. The water from these springs might well irrigate large gardens were it not for the Bedouins, who with their herds would immediately destroy any attempts at cultivation. In the hamlet, numbering only eight huts, we could not find a guide familiar with the country, and the Fwā're herdsmen who were watering their flocks there showed no desire to accompany us. Finally an older man called Ramzūn leaped on the camel carrying our water bags and declared that he would act as our guide if I gave him one *meḡīdijje* (90 cents) a day. To my question whether he preferred to sit on my camel for half a *meḡīdijje* a day or in his tent for nothing at all, he replied that he would go for half a *meḡīdijje*, but must be given coffee and cigarettes besides.

the bishop of the Arabian monks in Ḥawwārīn, Nonnus of Circesium, and Marion of Šūra' of the Roman Empire were driven out by the Government.

John of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, III, 40—42, states that the *curator* Magnus caused a wall to be built around Ḥawwārīn and also that he built a church there. To its consecration he invited the patriarch of Antioch and the patrician Alamundarus (al-Mundir). The last-named was escorted by his soldiers, who, however, yielding to Magnus' entreaties, went back again. Alamundarus was then captured. No sooner did his soldiers hear of this than they returned and occupied the fortress, but had to retreat before the superior Roman strength. An-No'mān, al-Mundir's eldest son, assembled his troops and, after Magnus' departure, attacked and conquered Magnus' fort (Ḥawwārīn). The Arabs slew some of the inhabitants, took the rest captive, and carried away whatever fell into their hands: gold and silver, brass, and iron, dresses of wool and cotton, corn, wine and oil, pack animals of all kinds, herds of cattle and flocks of sheep and goats.

In Georgius Cyprius, *Descriptio* (Gelzer), p. 50, Ḥawwārīn appears (about 605) on the list of the towns in the eparchy of Phoenicia Libanensis under the name of Euarius or Justinianupolis and as subject to the metropolitan residing in Emissa (Ḥoms). — The new name of Justinianupolis was probably given to the old settlement when it was rebuilt at the end of the sixth century.

Al-Aḥṭal, *Divān* (Salhani), p. 289, recalls that the caliph Yazid (Yazid) ibn Mu'āwija liked to reside in Ḥuwwārīn, where he was also buried in 683.

Al-Mas'ūdi, *Tanbih* (De Goeje), p. 306, and aṭ-Ṭabari, *Ta'riḥ* (De Goeje), Ser. 2, p. 427, write that Yazid died in the middle of October, 683, in Ḥuwwārīn in the district of Damascus near the road leading by way of al-Ḳutejfe (or al-Ḳuṭajjeje) and Ḳāra to Ḥoms. — Al-Ḳutejfe and al-Ḳāra lie to the southwest of al-Ḥawwārīn.

When the caliph Walid II was murdered, the inhabitants of Ḥoms rebelled against the caliph Yazid II, who then sent an army against them, which started a battle near Ḥuwwārīn (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 2, p. 1827).

In the middle of July, 998, Bakḡūr fled from Damascus through the mountains to the fortress of Ḥuwwārīn, where his property was hidden. Snatching up hastily what he could, he continued to flee to ar-Raḳḳa (Ibn al-Ḳalānisi, *Dajl* [Amedroz], p. 30).

According to Jākūt, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 355, and Abu-l-Faḍā'il, *Marāṣid* (Juynboll), Vol. 1, p. 327, Ḥuwwārājīn, or Ḥuwwārīn, was a place in the political district of Aleppo and a fortress in the administrative precinct of Ḥoms. Jākūt quotes al-Belāḍori's report of Ḥāled ibn al-Walid's march from Tadmur to al-Ḳarjatān and Ḥuwwārīn in the mountainous Sanir region. Here Ḥāled fell upon the flocks of sheep and goats belonging to the inhabitants of Ḥuwwārīn, to whose aid came the people of Baalbek. Abu Ḥudejfa says that Ḥāled, after marching two days from Tadmur, reached the settlement of al-Ḳarjatān, also called Ḥuwwārīn, where in 683 the caliph Yazid I died. —

Jākūt considers all the settlements in Palmyrena as subject to Aleppo. Al-Belāḍori, whom he does not quote literally, mentions, besides the inhabitants of Baalbek, the people of Boṣra as having come to the help of al-Ḥawwārīn. As this seemed to Jākūt to be less credible, he omitted mentioning it. It is not easy to understand why he erroneously identified al-Ḳarjatān with al-Ḥawwārīn. Being a native of Ḥama' and having himself visited al-Ḳarjatān, he surely must have known that they were two different places, separated by a distance of nearly twenty kilometers. Abu-l-Faḍā'il left this mistake uncorrected because he did not know Palmyrena at all.

Abu-l-Feda', *Taḳwīm* (Reinaud and De Slane), p. 83, says that the settlement of Ḥuwwārīn lies southeast of Ḥoms.

ABU RUBÂḤ TO ĞEBB ḤABL

Starting at 7.50 in a northeasterly direction, we came before long to the foot of the broad but low ridge of Abu Rubâḥ, which stretches from northeast to southwest, and halted at nine o'clock before the ruins of the same name. On the western slope of the ridge lie extensive remains of a huge fortress enclosed by a wall 120 centimeters thick and provided with numerous small square towers. The southwestern tower and a big arch in the northwestern corner are comparatively well preserved. At about the center of the northern side of the fortress a gate leads into a small yard, from which it is possible to crawl through a low opening in the eastern wall to an old vault, where, through a narrow crevice in the middle of the floor, escape vapors of a temperature of 51°C. This is the famous hot bath Hammâm abu Rubâḥ, much frequented by the sick of Ḥomṣ, Ḥama, and Aleppo. The spring itself bubbles out at a depth of about twenty meters down in the rock.

Nearly four hundred paces east of the fortress steam also escapes through a similar rock crevice, but there the temperature could not be measured. Out under a stone right by the hole two adders with thick tubercles on their heads were hissing at us and would not be chased away with stones. We unfortunately had no stick. Above this spring rises a truncated cone, on which lie piles of débris from an old ruined watch-tower. From there we sketched a map of the neighborhood.

Far to the west rose the rocky peak Ḥalîmt al-Kâra. To the northwest we could see the Ṭaraḡ Hôlâje which extends from southeast to northwest forming the watershed between the river basin of al-‘Âṣi (Orontes) and that of the streams flowing into the lowland of ad-Daw. The last-named extends southwest of Tudmor. South of the Ṭaraḡ Hôlâje spreads the undulating region of al-Mkejmen, ground easy to cultivate, in the western part of which could be seen the gardens of the settlements of Şadad, ar-Rḡejbe, and al-Ḥafar, and in the eastern the settlements of al-Ḥawwârîn and Mhîn. On the southeast the Ṭaraḡ Hôlâje joins the flat-topped ridge of Zuḡum al-Ḥanzîr, which on the northeast merges with the mighty and much higher ridge of aš-Şômerijje, shutting in the northern horizon. Southeast of aš-Şômerijje stretches the hilly district of Tafḡa, from which the at-Tjâs hills run south. Southwest of these hills glistened the white escarpment Ṭâr ar-Rḡejmi, south of which rose the isolated Tell as-Semen. Far to the east-northeast shone the steep walls of the al-Abjaḡ mountains, overlooking on the northeast the basin of ad-Daw, which extends as far south as the ar-Rawâḡ range. Near at hand to the east and southeast of the ruins of Abu Rubâḥ stood out clearly in view the white rocks of

the Kih al-Ġeba', below which flow the springs 'Ajn al-Ġeba' and 'Ajn al-Komkôm, well known as watering places for camels. To the west of these projects the long flat-topped Ḥazm al-Jasîr.

The land south, west, and north of the Abu Rubâḥ ruins is tillable, but the area to the east, composed chiefly of soft calcareous rocks, absorbs the moisture so easily that the grain usually dries up before it can ripen.

At 10.15 we were in our saddles again, trying to descend from the ridge of Abu Rubâḥ to the neighboring rolling plain of al-Wu'erijje; but this was not easily done, as the side gullies form deep hollows in the slope of the ridge. The valleys of al-Faras, az-Zebi, and az-Zel'a, through which we passed in a north-northeasterly direction, must also have been cultivated in times past. Low dams for catching the run-off seen thereabout bear witness to this. Here and there were lying the white skins (*tijâb*) of various snakes, which are quite plentiful about Abu Rubâḥ. We also had a glimpse of two herds of gazelles.

On the southern edge of the rolling plain of al-Bawlijje, two Fwâ're from the neighborhood of Ḥomṣ joined us. They were traveling to the 'Ebede division to recover from them five stolen camels. The Fwâ're and the 'Ebede were friends, but one of our new companions had been camping with enemies of the 'Ebede, the Ḥsene. The 'Ebede had suddenly attacked the Ḥsene, taking their camels and also the five belonging to our new companion. For this reason the two Fwâ're were going to the head chief of the 'Ebede, Barġas eben Hdejb, to ask for the return of his animals. They did not know where Barġas was then camping, and yet all they took with them for their long trip was an old rifle and an earthen pitcher holding no more than half a liter of water. Of provisions they had none at all, depending on hospitality in the camps they were to pass and, whenever these were too distant from each other, waiting several days until some other travelers whom they could join chanced to pass. Having met us, they thanked Allâh for the precious gift he sent them in us, for they did not intend to leave our party until we had escorted them right to Barġas. For food and drink they depended on us, too, and also hoped to get a ride occasionally. My native companions were not overjoyed by their new comrades, and the guide Ramẓûn did not even hesitate to say that Allâh was often charitable to wholly undeserving persons.

In the territory we were now passing through there were no distinctly formed watercourses. If it rains enough, the water gathers in the smaller flats, and only after a lasting and heavy rain does it flow through the valleys to the al-Ḥôr basin and disappear on the lowland of ad-Daw. At 2.47 we came to a big pile of stones, Abu ‘Aḵbên, behind which we found deeper gullies, running south. The ride through the monotonous rolling plain, covered with dried yellow plants, was so very fatiguing that we were glad when we finally reached the gray slopes of the aş-Şômerijje ridge. Both on the slopes and in the gullies numerous black points—terebinth trees—were to be seen. At the foot of the ridge we came at 3.05 to the Ġebâb Ḥamed wells, but no one was there (temperature: 27.8° C). We camped in a basin open only to the northeast, where our animals found good pasture and we plenty of dried camel manure to cook our supper with. From there I went to the two wells to find out their depth, in order that Mḥammad could take along ropes of the right length. The southern well was partly caved-in and dry, “dead” (*majjet*); in the northern, however, there was water, only it was about twenty-five meters below the surface and the rope we took measured just fifteen meters. To reach the water, therefore, we had to tie our reins and girths to the rope and, as this was not enough, even two shirts. Our canvas bucket finally reached the water, but being very light, floated on the surface and could not be made to sink. After pulling it out again, we tied a large stone to the bottom of it and thus were able to fill the bucket. The sides of the well, however, being hewn through the rock, were not even and the bucket, now full, bumped against all the sides in turn. We trembled with anxiety lest our rope, so laboriously constructed, should break and lose us not only the water but indispensable parts of our clothing and the girths and reins as well. Allâh helped, however, and we succeeded in watering the gendarme’s horse and filling both our bags, although the camels did not get a drink.

From the wells, lying at an altitude of 819 meters, I went to a slope to the west, where, at a height of 830 meters, I found the remains of an old fortification with foundation walls 220 centimeters thick. South of these are two cisterns and a reservoir hewn in the rock. Returning to the camp again, I saw that our camels were grazing too far away without anybody to watch them and that the gendarme as well as the negro

ʿAbdallâh were regaling themselves with coffee, tea, rice, and meat, and allowing the travelers of the Fwâ're to share with them. All the baggage was opened and the flour and rice scattered about. Since no one except Mḥammad had the right to take the food out of the baggage, I asked him who had caused this disorder. To excuse himself Mḥammad pointed to the gendarme and ʿAbdallâh, saying that they of their own accord and in spite of him took from the baggage whatever they liked. Reproaching them with their high-handed actions, I threatened to dismiss them instantly if they should do such a thing again. I could not permit any uninvited person to meddle with and waste our provisions, not knowing when and where we could replenish them.

We had to keep watch all night, being apprehensive of an attack by robbers or marauders who might come to the wells after dark. It was manifest before midnight that our fears were not without grounds. Three riders on camels discovered our camp and prowled about a long time. Finding that we were the stronger party, they finally disappeared.

Friday, October 16, 1908. At 6.22 A. M. (temperature: 15°C) we started north-northeast, ascending the mountain chain of aš-Šômerijje. The valleys here are wide and their slopes not abrupt, but their side gullies are narrow and deep. The mountain ridge is broad and almost flat-topped; only here and there a dome-shaped hillock rises above the general level. At 7.20 we were in the *še'ib* of al-ʿAḳûlijje, where, a half-hour later, we saw on our left the ruins of a settlement of the same name. At 8.20 we reached the ruined village of al-Ḳaṭṭâr and saw standing on a neighboring butte by a large pile of stones a rider, who instantly disappeared when he saw himself observed. It was possibly one of the trio who had kept us awake the night before. Two or three robbers riding on camels are called *ma'âjîr*. They sneak close to flocks of sheep or camels and drive away as many animals as they can. If some of the herdsmen catch sight of them, they at once give warning to their companions, who then place lookouts on all the highest points in the neighborhood to keep watch from there over their herds. The herdsmen of the Beni Ḥâled, whose flocks were grazing in aš-Šômerijje, must have known about these robbers, because at nine o'clock, when we arrived at the deep well Ġebb Ḥabl, we noticed that all the prominent places were occupied by watchers.

ĞEBB ḤABL TO ‘UŽĒRIBÂT; THE BENI ḤÂLED; THE MWÂLI

The Beni Ḥâled number about one thousand tents and obey one head chief, ‘Abdalkerîm eben Nâşer. Their clans are:

Âl Nâşer	(chief: ‘Abdalkerîm eben Nâşer)
Âl ‘Âşî	(„ „ „ „ „ „)
az-Zmûl	(„ Mḥammad al-Râreb)
al-Ranâjem	(„ Ḥaḍr al-‘Amûri)
al-Bejâtire	(„ ‘Arejmeş)
Âl ‘Alejjân	(„ Ḥâled al-Ḥalaf)
an-Neğâğîr, with al-Ḥaşwa and Baṭṭa families	(„ Fâres ar-Rhejjeş)
aş-Şakra	(„ Sallûm al-Mḥammad)
aṭ-Ta‘ama’	(„ Ḥaḍr al-‘Elêwi)
al-‘Ażâzre	(„ Mḥammad al-Mûsa)
al-Brejçât	(„ Ḥamîs al-Brejçi)
az-Zrejğ	(„ ‘Abdallâh al-Hebâw)
ar-Rfê‘ijjîn	(„ Mḥammad ‘Ali ar-Rfê‘î)
al-‘Akârşe	(„ Hazzâ‘ al-Btejheş)
aş-Şikr	(„ Kambar)
al-Mtejhât	(„ Ğed‘ân al-Kaşab)
aṭ-Taḥhân	(„ Ğâsem al-Mḥammad)
aş-Şmûr	(„ Aḥmad aş-Ştêwi)

At 9.13 we crossed the road of at-Tidribe connecting Ḥomş and Ḥama’ with the territory of Bil‘âs and Tudmor.

This road runs in an easterly direction across the mountain chain of Tafḥa and along the southern slopes of the mountains Zemlet al-Knêmân, aş-Safwânî, and Mu‘allağ aş-Şka’. After crossing the *še‘ibân* of at-Temâjel and al-Fuṭṭas, it traverses the Zuml Emhâr hills to the wells Bijâr Ğhâr and thence leads straight to the Bijâr abu-l-Fawâres. Near Ğebb Ḥabl a branch leads off to the southeast beyond the *še‘ib* of al-Fâje, running between Tenâja Ḥaleb and the at-Tjâs ridge past the ruins of at-Tjâs to the well Bîr Mişrab, the demolished Ḥân at-Trâb (or al-Leben), and still farther to the well Ğebb Ğezel north of the small ruins of al-Klejbijje. At the Abu-l-Fawâres well both the main road and this branch connect with the as-Sultânî road which runs from Tudmor to Damascus by way of al-Žerjitejn. Since the seventies of the last century, however, when Miðhat Pasha ordered the fortress Kal‘at al-Bêza to be built, large caravans bound from Tudmor to Ḥomş and Ḥama’ have used the commercial road of as-Sultânî as far as this fortress and only from here have turned directly west-northwest to the well Ğebb Ğen‘ân, called also Bîr (or Ğebb) Mişrab.

The fort Ḥân abu Şindâḥ, where we stayed from 10.05 to 12.15 P.M. (temperature: 28°C), may have been built for the protection of the at-Tidribe road.

The Ḥân abu Şindâḥ is situated on a high butte (Fig. 5). Its walls are 220 centimeters thick and form a rectangle

45.40 meters long from north to south by 41.20 meters wide. Through the center of the southern wall a narrow gate leads into a court, the southern part of which is full of débris. Almost in the middle of the court is a deep well, to the west

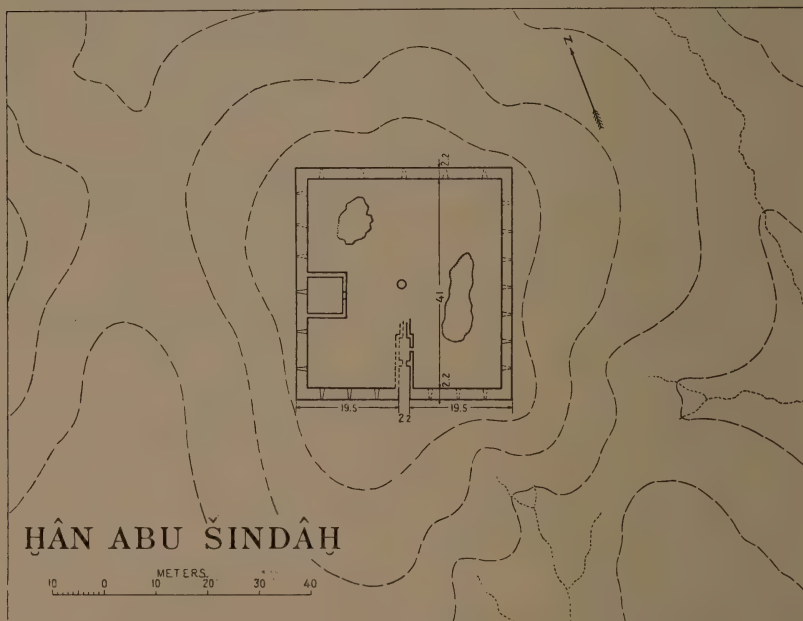


FIG. 5—Hân abu Šindâh, plan.

of which there is a square structure built close to the wall. In the western and southern walls are six loopholes each, in the northern only five, and in the eastern seven. Above one of the loopholes on the outside projects a rough-hewn stone with a cross on it (Fig. 6).

The butte of Abu Šindâh forms a part of the ridge of aš-Šômerijje and can be seen from far to the southwest. The highland east of it and north of the ridges of al-Abjaž and Abu Riğmên is called Bil'âs,⁹ the eastern border of which is formed by the hillocks near the al-Ḳdejm wells; this region extends as far north as Esrija.

As seen from the Hân abu Šindâh the horizon to the west is shut in by the aš-Šômerijje mountains; to the south appear the bare Tafha hillocks; to the east rises the ridge of al-Ḳnêmân, overgrown in some places

⁹ According to Ibn Ḥordâdbeh, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), p. 76, and Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 722, al-Bal'âs (or Bal'âs) is an administrative precinct in the political district of Ḥomṣ.

with terebinth trees, behind which is aş-Şawwâni and the still more distant Mu‘allaḡ aş-Ška’. The high outlines of the al-Abjaz mountains also show on the horizon. In front of them gapes the wide rift of Ġhâr, separating them on the west from the mountain chain of Abu Zhûr, the western spur of which, Şawwânt abu Zhûr, reaches as far as Mu‘allaḡ aş-Ška’.

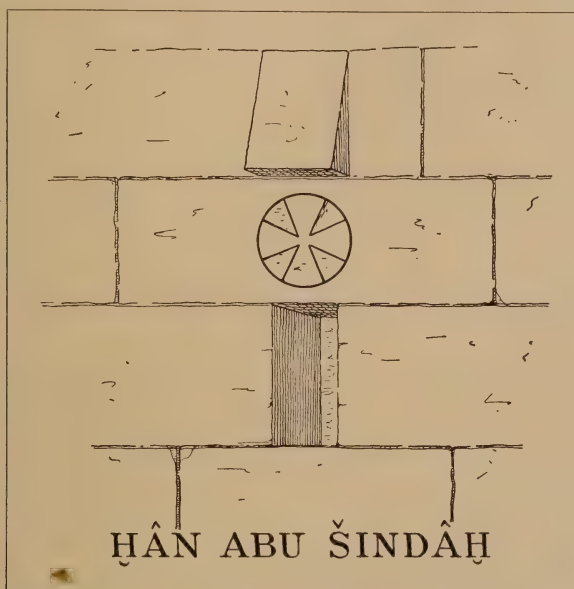


FIG. 6—Hân abu Šindâḥ, a cross above a loophole.

All the *še'ibân* between these ridges might be cultivated, as is proved by the ruins of old settlements. For instance, to the south of the Hân abu Šindâḥ in the *še'ib* of as-Sa'îd lie the al-Abûlije (or Abu Elijje) ruins; southeast of these in the *še'ib* of al-Fâje and east of the Hân abu Šindâḥ in the Şawwânt abu Zhûr lies the Bûta wa-l-'Ala' ruin. The *še'ib* of at-Temâjel rises on the western extremity of the Şawwânt abu Zhûr. After being joined on the left by the *še'ib* of al-Fuṭṭas, it finds its way between Tenâja Haleb—as the eastern spurs of the hilly district of at-Tjâs are called—and the E'jât Ġhâr rocks, and ends in the lowland of ad-Daw. About mid-course of the *še'ib* of at-Temâjel lie the Murrân ruins, in the neighborhood of which, it is said, much “dark-brown stone” (probably lignite or brown coal) is found, which burns when laid on a fire.

Going north-northeast from the Hân abu Šindâḥ, at 1.10 we reached a small ruin, Şurrat Rarra. Thence we rode west of the deep valley of al-Raṭṭâs or al-Bûm, in which the ruins of Umm al-Kbêbe, Umm al-Hmejme, and Rasm al-Hallâẓ lie. East of Umm al-Hmejme and at the eastern base of Abu Zhûr, is the al-Kumejje ruin, and south of the latter in a branch

of the *še'ib* of Ġhâr is the well Ġebb az-Zubejjed. West of Şurrat Rarra the aš-Šômerijje mountains send out to the west the broad spur of aš-Şawwâne.

At 1.42 we had on our left on a plateau covered with tall dry grasses the hillock Tell Erkab and were crossing Zahr al-Makṭa' and the low ridge of al-Manḵûra, on the northwestern slope of which are the ruins of al-Ḳarṣ,¹⁰ Umm at-Twêne, and the village of al-Ḥarîza.

At 2.38 we entered the plowed fields of the new settlement of Ġebb Šiḥa and a few minutes later were in the broad *še'ib* of al-Mrejjel, which was also cultivated. At 3.48 we stopped by the wells of al-Barrâḳ, not far from the ruins of the same name. These wells had recently been cleaned by the Mešârfe *fellâḥîn*, breeders of goats and sheep. (Temperature: 27.5° C.)

Our guide did not know these new settlements and thought that we should find our next water in the hamlet of al-Ḥarîza; it was therefore necessary to look for a new guide. Having made camp on the eastern slope of the as-Suwejjed ridge, about five hundred meters from the camp of the Mešârfe we began to negotiate with two men. After a while the chief arrived with several companions and complained that we did not honor his tent as his guests. Our gendarme treated these *fellâḥîn* as though they were his slaves. They called him *efendi*, brought him the best rugs, prepared a soft bed for him, offered him cigarettes and a water pipe (*narkîle*, or narghile), inquired what his soul was yearning for, and showed him the barley they had brought for his horse. The gendarme beamed with pleasure when he noticed the jealous — nay, envious — looks of his companion, 'Abdallâh, and accepted everything, even the barley, but whispered to Mḥammad to remember that he had received this as a present from his friends and that he expected the Pasha to pay him the price of it. The chief then brought us a guide and seemed to be glad that we did not honor his tent by our visit but that, on the contrary, he could drink tea and eat *burrul* with us. Also our guide, Ramzûn, was so well pleased with our hospitality that he promised to go to the Euphrates and then to return with us again to al-Žerjitejn. He was even ready to give up his wages, if only he could ride on one of our camels, smoke our cigarettes, and

¹⁰ Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 57, knew of a Tell Ḳarṣ in the territory of the Ghassanian tribe. — As our al-Ḳarṣ is in territory which once belonged to the Ghassanians, we may identify it with Tell Ḳarṣ.

drink our tea, which seemed especially to his taste. Both of the Fwâ're men also remained with us without seeking hospitality in the tents. We were, therefore, now accommodating fourteen men, something we could not, of course, continue to do, or we should soon have had nothing left for ourselves.

The Mešârfe belong to the Mwâli tribe, who live in about eight hundred tents and obey Emir Fağr abu Rîše. This tribe is formed of the following clans:

al-Bu Rîše	(chief: Fağr abu Rîše)
Âl Ĥalife	(„ ‘Abdalkerîm eben Aḥmad)
ad-Dowle	(„ ‘Abdal‘azîz Ibrâhîm)
Beni ‘Ezz	
ad-Dwâdne	
Âl Râzi	
al-Kalkal	
aš-Šrejġ	
al-Hasaw	
aš-Šlêwa	
aš-Šwêrtân	
aṭ-Towkân	(„ Aḥmad al-Ḥamad)
al-Mešârfe.	

The Mešârfe clan numbers about two hundred tents and consists of the following families:

Al-Ḥaz‘al	(chief: Ġâsem eben Mḥammad al-‘Azzâwi)
al-Ḥzêmât	(„ Dûḥi al-‘Umejjer)
Âl Hasan	(„ Ḥmejd an-Neğm)
al-‘Ešûš	(„ ‘Abbûd al-Ḥmûd)
al-Baḳḳâr	(„ ‘Alêwi al-Ajjûb)
al-‘Abdelijje	(„ Ġdê an-Neğm).

Saturday, October 17, 1908. Long before sunrise I sent Mḥammad with three men and all the camels to the wells, but after a short time they returned with the unwelcome report that there was no water there. But since our new guide, Aḥmad al-‘Ali, assured us that we should find plenty in the new settlement of ‘Užêribât, we started for that place at 6.20 A. M. (temperature: 18° C). Crossing the *še‘ib* of al-Mreġzel in a northeasterly direction, we saw the al-Barrâḳ wells on our right and then came upon the cultivated land of the Mešârfe. This clan has plowed during the last few years the fields of al-Barrâḳ, Umm at-Twêne, al-Mšêrfe, and al-‘Aršûne. Aḥmad complained bitterly of the locusts which had appeared regularly during the last few years and destroyed not only the fields but also the pastures. After having passed the ruin of al-Ġâbrijje we reached the flat-topped hillocks of as-Swejda,

grown over with terebinth and low blackish trees known as *swejd*. To the northwest there spread a vast plain bounded on the northwest by the uplands of al-‘Ala’; above the plain rose the butte of al-‘Ezejjem, south of which we had a mo-

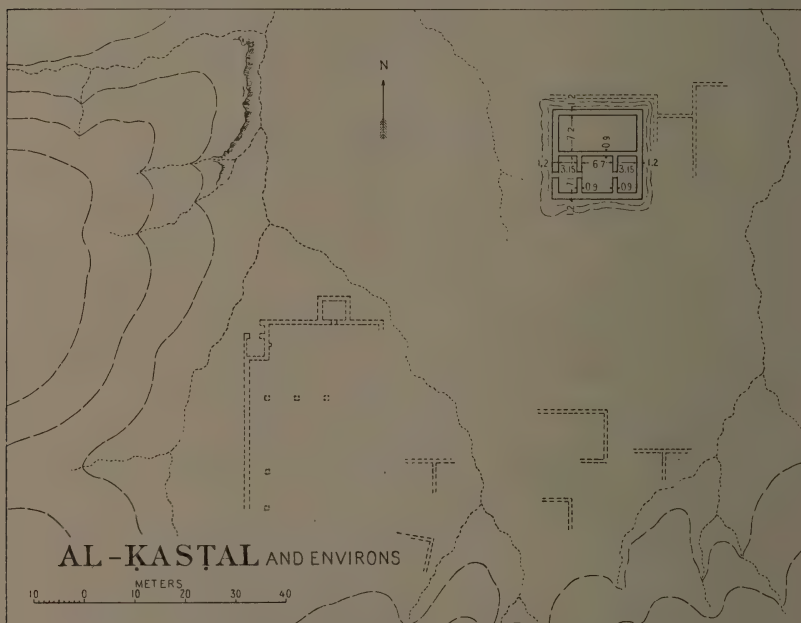


FIG. 7—Al-Kaṣṭal and environs, plan.

mentary glimpse of the little fortress Ḳaṣr Ṣumejmîs, standing on an isolated hill. Farther to the southwest appeared the outlines of two high black mountains called Ḳrûn Ḥama'. At 7.50 we passed the caved-in wells of al-Ḳurbâtijje; to the west we saw the village of as-Sûḥa, and from 8.08 to 9.20 we stayed in the settlement of 'Uẓêribât (temperature: 31.8° C).

The half-*fellâḥîn* call this settlement 'Uẓêriba' or 'Uḳêriba'.¹¹

The new settlement, which is built on a small elevation, and its productive neighborhood are the property of the chief

¹¹ According to *Notitia dignitatum*, Oriens 33, nos. 8, 17, Occariba was garrisoned by the *equites promoti Illyriciani*, who obeyed the commander of Syria.

Ibn Ḥordâdbeh, *op. cit.*, p. 76, notes that the administrative district of the town of Ḥoms contained the precincts Zumajn, al-Kaṣṭal, Salamiġja, and 'Uḳêriba'. — In the text 'Aḳbartâ is printed, but from the geographical position of the places named above it should evidently read 'Uḳêriba'.

Naṣr (Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 699) refers to 'Uḳêriba', stating that it is a precinct of the administrative district of Ḥoms.

of Tudmor (Palmyra). Neither in the settlement nor in its environs could we find any Roman remains. Having watered our animals and filled our water bags, we gave the two Fwâ're to understand that they had better look for other companions. They were not a little angry that we declined to accommodate them further, but they took the hint.

‘UŽÊRIBÂT TO ESRIJA

Proceeding on our way, we now went through an open productive country. To the east, behind the as-Swejda hillocks, rose the high ridge of al-‘Eķejre, on which lie the al-‘Amâra ruins. This ridge slopes toward the northeast into the hilly region of al-Ġêne, in which is the small ruin Rasm at-Tumbâk.

West of al-Ġêne appear two isolated hills, Šefa’ Idêntên, and northeast the bare hillocks Tlûl ar-Raml. On the east the al-‘Eķejre ridge overlooks the deep and wide *še’ib* of al-Bûm, east of which the ridges of aš-Šoṭob and Umm al-Fhûd stretch to the north. Groups of terebinth and *swejd* trees were to be seen on all these ridges. Riding along the edge of the fertile plain which spread to the west, at 1.34 P. M. we passed a pile of stones, Riġm al-Faḥar, the remains of an old watchtower; then we descended slowly to the broad *še’ib* of al-Rawr, the sides of which are rocky and covered with small groves of terebinth trees. In crossing the valley we had frequently to ride on old dams past the remains of garden watchtowers and caved-in wells. We headed steadily northeast towards a high hill at the foot of which stand the ruins of a watchtower which now serve as a place of burial.

Turning east, we stopped at 2.40 under a half-crumbled fortress known as al-Ḳaṣṭal (Fig. 7), built nearly in the form of a square with sides between 17 and 18 meters long and walls 120 centimeters thick. It was built of blocks averaging of 165 centimeters long, 55 centimeters wide, and 60 centimeters deep. South of it we found the foundation walls of a round church with basalt columns ornamented on the capitals with Christian emblems (Fig. 8, 9). Next to the church there is

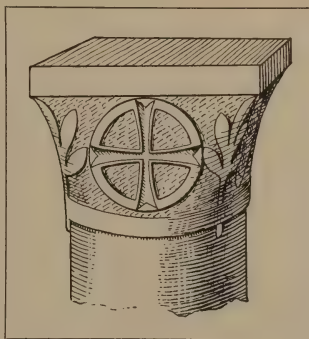


FIG. 8—Al-Ḳaṣṭal, a capital.

a rather large house, probably a monastery, built out of the material of a very handsome older structure. South of the monastery are still to be seen the remains of a wide gate. Northeast of the fortress is the foundation of an extensive building with a court bounded by a colonnade, and on the south a structure built of colossal rough-hewn blocks, averaging 280 centimeters in length, 72 centimeters in width, and 50 centimeters in depth.¹²

We had scarcely completed our examination of the ruins when a strong west wind brought an icy rain, which made us run for shelter.

¹² The classical name of this place is as yet unknown. The Arabs have always called it al-Kaṣṭal.

Al-Aḥṭal, *Divān* (Salhani), p. 58, writes of saddle covers manufactured in al-Kaṣṭal. Some cavalymen from the army commanded by Abu 'Obejda on their march from Ḥomṣ to Ḥama² went as far as az-Zerrā'a and al-Kaṣṭal (al-Belādiri, *Futūḥ* [De Goeje], p. 131).

In 743-744 Syria was plagued with various diseases, which caused the royal princes to leave Damascus for the country. Prince al-'Abbās took up his residence in al-Kaṣṭal and his brother Jazīd (Yazīd) ibn al-Walīd went only a few miles farther, whence he often visited his brother (at-Ṭabari, *Ta'riḥ* [De Goeje], Ser. 2, p. 1784). — We know from the same source that Yazīd's country seat lay back of the settlement of Ḡerūd, a good four days' march from Damascus. For this reason we may identify the residence of his brother at that time with the ruins of al-Kaṣṭal, almost two hundred kilometers from Damascus.

In 745 Merwān II with his followers went from Damascus to the settlement of al-Kaṣṭal, which lay east of the town of Ḥomṣ, a three days' journey from Tadmur. In al-Kaṣṭal he received the information that his antagonists had had all the wells between al-Kaṣṭal and Tadmur filled with stones. Still intent on attacking them, he obtained provisions, water bags, and camels; while in the meantime his followers negotiated with the antagonists. Some of the latter then joined him, but others fled to the desert region held by the Kalb tribe. Merwān finally began his march through the desert by way of Sūrija and Dejr al-Lataḥ to ar-Ruṣāfa, and from there to ar-Raḡba. In ar-Ruṣāfa his follower, Sulejmān ibn Ḥiṣām, was collecting an army. When Merwān's troops, sent to humiliate Irak, reached ar-Ruṣāfa, Sulejmān openly declared war against him and encamped with both his own and the newly won warriors in Kinnesrin (*ibid.*, Ser. 2, pp. 1896 f., 1908). —

At-Ṭabari fixes the distance between al-Kaṣṭal and Tadmur at three military marches. Our al-Kaṣṭal lies about ninety kilometers from Tadmur and no infantry can make more than thirty kilometers a day on a prolonged march. The settlement of al-Kaṣṭal on the road from Damascus to Ḥomṣ lies south of the latter, while al-Kaṣṭal, the camping place of Merwān, is to be sought east of Ḥomṣ, under the jurisdiction of which it belonged. The al-Kaṣṭal between Damascus and Ḥomṣ was politically subject to Damascus and was 150 kilometers from Tadmur. No infantry could cover that distance in three days.

Sūrija is written erroneously for Surja or Surija. It is the Serija or Esrija of today on the road from al-Kaṣṭal to ar-Ruṣāfa. Dejr al-Lataḥ, lying on the same road, should be sought in the ruined monastery now called at-Turkmānīje, halfway between Esrija and ar-Ruṣāfa.

Jākūt, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 95, states that al-Kaṣṭal is a settlement between Ḥomṣ and Damascus and that, according to other authorities, it is also the correct name of a district, which he also visited. — The administrative district of al-Kaṣṭal must have been identical with the vicinity of the present settlement of that name, to which Jākūt paid a visit on his trip from Aleppo to al-Ḳarjatān (al-Zerjitejn).

In May, 1312, two political administrators deposed by Sultan Nāṣer leagued themselves with the Bedouins of the Salamja country. An army was sent against them, which marched from Aleppo by way of Ḥama² to Salamja. The rebels tried to attack the army at night, but, failing in this, they fled with the army pursuing them past al-Kaṣṭal, Kuḏejm, 'Ord, and Ḳebāḳeb as far as ar-Raḡba, but were not overtaken, since they sought refuge in "ḤWM'N," near 'Ana and al-Ḥadiṭa, which was then under Mongol rule (Abu'l-Feda², *Muḡtaṣar* [Adler], Vol. 5, pp. 252 f.). —

The al-Kaṣṭal here mentioned may also be sought in the al-Kaṣṭal I am describing. The fleeing Bedouins must have had to stop with their herds at several large watering places, and the pursuing army followed suit. Thus they probably fled from Salamja 50 kilometers eastward to al-Kaṣṭal, thence 75 kilometers eastward to Kuḏejm, thence east-southeastward to 'Ord (at-Tajjibe), thence 70 kilometers eastward to al-Ḳebāḳeb, and finally to ar-Raḡba. The last does not mean the formerly large town of ar-Raḡba but the present fortress of ar-Raḡba near al-Miḡāḍin. After that the Bedouins hurried along the right bank of the Euphrates farther southeast into Mongol territory and camped beyond the settlements of 'Ana and al-Ḥadiṭa near a locality the correct name of which has not been preserved for us. Judging by the consonants it might have been the Wāḍi Ḥawrān, which always was and still is a good camping place.

When it ceased raining Tûmân and I began to sketch a plan, but a few minutes later our guide called out and showed me several riders on the high spur, Râs aş-Şinime. While I was examining the strangers, the guide ran to my com-

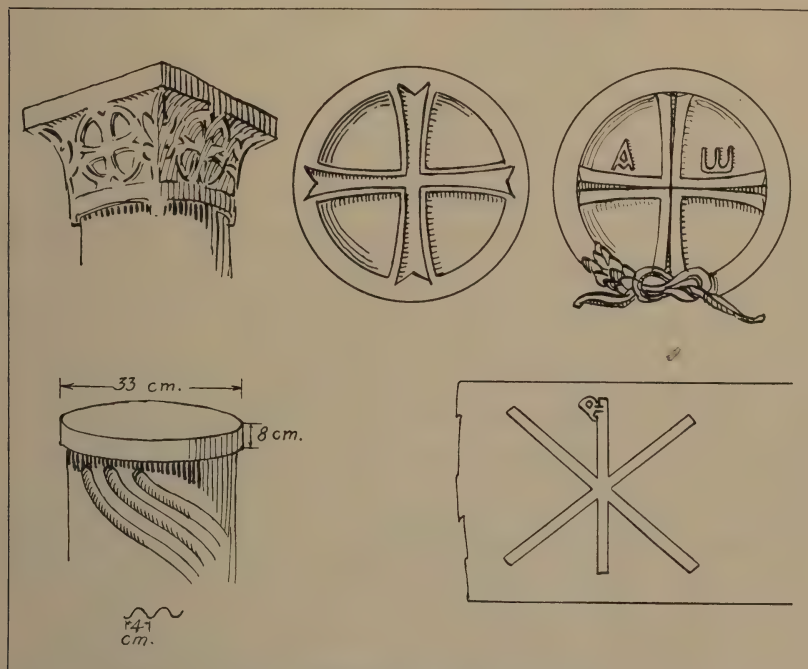


FIG. 9—Al-Kaştal, some emblems.

panions and urged them to drive in our grazing camels. To conceal myself, I crawled into the ruined structure built of gigantic blocks, from which I saw three riders approaching at a trot. Then, running to my men, I ordered them to fetter the camels so as to prevent their shying and getting away from us during the attack. Loading our guns we waited to see what would happen. After a few minutes we saw two men in the structure from which I had just emerged. They looked us over for a while and then, coming out, made signs to us with their long sleeves. Answering them in the same manner, I invited them to come over, which they gladly did, seeing that we were not enemy's spies, as they had suspected, but peaceable persons whom they had no need to fear. They were members of the 'Umûr tribe and told us that their herdsmen

had sighted in the southeast a troop of the enemy, which all the men in the camp had gone out to meet. These were the riders we had seen on the aş-Şinime spur. As they had also sighted our camels, their chief had sent three men to find out who we were.

Our gendarme had absolutely no desire to sleep in al-Ḳaṣṭal nor even to sup there, but kept on asking me to place the kettle, with the supper already prepared, on a camel and to go with the riders to their camp. Much as I should have liked to have stayed in al-Ḳaṣṭal to finish the examination of the ruins, I could not needlessly put myself and my companions in danger. Therefore, when it again started to rain, I made them load up and we went to the camp of the ʿUmûr at a distance of about four and a half kilometers northeast, where we spent the night (temperature at 6 P. M.: 20° C). It made the people in the camp restless to have the enemy so close when all their fighting men were away, but they calmed down on seeing us so well armed. Both the old men and the women surrounded us, asking all the while what we knew about the enemy. After midnight two riders, whose mares were too young for much exertion, returned and the crowding and inquiring went on as before. Unable to sleep, we determined the latitude as soon as the clouds had parted, let the camels loose to graze, and made ready to leave again.

Sunday, October 18, 1908. Since we were camping in a narrow gully right in front of the chief's tent, my men would not light their own fire, but preferred to wait until the women in the tent had lit theirs and sent milk to us. Having drunk the warmed-up coffee with the milk, we rode off at 6.41 A. M. (temperature: 20° C) to the nearest water, Esrija, beside which Barğas eben Hdejb, the head chief of the ʿEbede division of the as-Sba'a tribe, had his camp.

This chief was just then at war with my friends, the Rwala. I much wished to meet Barğas and to gain his friendship, since I could then be sure of having nothing to fear either from the ʿEbede or the tribes related to them. Crossing the height Kfûf al-Bûb in a north-northeasterly direction, at 8.20 we went down into the broad *še'ib* of al-ʿAzîb, which was overgrown with tall dry grasses (*hemri*), with which in a little while we had filled two large bags to use in feeding our camels when we reached Barğas' camp. We also saw a group

of yellow tulip-like flowers, which our guide called *wardet al-ehwa*.

The *še'ib* of al-‘Azîb forms the continuation of the *še'ibân* of al-Raṭṭâs and al-Bûm. Farther northwest it joins the right-hand side of the al-Rawr valley, which comes out of the al-Makṭa' and al-Manḳûra hills and stretches, under the name of al-Rarr, in a north-northeasterly direction to the salt marsh Sbaḥt al-Morâra.

After nine o'clock we rode past the small al-Mdawwara ruin and sighted to the southeast the broad bare ridge of al-Hsejje, northwest of which lies the long flat elevation Hawijjet al-Buṭma, which is linked on the west with the steep scarps of Tanâheğ Esrija.

BARĠAS EBEN HDEJB AND THE 'EBEDE

At 12.08 P. M. we reached the ruins of Esrija, where we halted by the tent of the head chief Barġas. No one offered us a welcome, but on entering I saw Barġas sleeping on a rug. Sitting down by him I waited until 'Aẓw, his maternal uncle, came in. 'Aẓw bade me welcome in the chief's name and then woke the latter. Barġas leaned with his back against the main pole of his seven-poled tent and, saluting briefly, began to examine me.

"Where dost thou come from?"

"From south and west."

"Where art thou going?"

"To Allâh's gate," meaning wherever Allâh would lead me. At this Barġas looked at me with more attention, smiled slightly, sat closer to me, and began to converse in a whisper. The ice enclosing his mistrusting heart was broken.

He was then only twenty-eight years old, but his young life had been filled with sorrows enough to crush an older spirit. As a boy of twelve he had had to leave the tent of his father, Farḥân, and at the command of the Turkish Government go to Constantinople, there to attend a school established by the Sultan for the sons of the various chiefs. He had had to stay in Constantinople for five years and had ruined his health there. When he reached his eighteenth year he was made an officer and served for several years in the army. After Farḥân's death Barġas returned to his tribe as chief. Now, since he was familiar with both the laws and

customs of the Turks, he constantly endeavored to protect his people against ill usage from the Turkish officials and knew how to coax large tracts of land from the Government, both for himself and his tribe. He would build houses and people them with peasants from Syria, whom he protected and to whom he also let his fields for a rent of an eighth or a fifth of the net proceeds. He would encourage his poor kinsmen to engage in agriculture and firmly believed that in a few decades the whole of northwestern Palmyrena would be turned into productive fields. Beloved as he was by his people, who knew his kindness and love of peace, no one had any fear of him and even his slaves did not obey him. Often he would bid them ten times to do this or that, but no one would stir. He complained bitterly of having no children and begged for a medicine to avert that misfortune. To be his successor, Barğas was educating the twelve year old Bandar, a very sensible boy, whose father, famous both for intelligence and courage, had fallen in a raid. The Rwala, the enemies of his tribe, he hated fiercely, but he assured me over and over again that he was not afraid of them, since the 'Ebede were numerically the stronger. The longer he assured me, however, the more certain I felt that not only he, Barğas, but also his 'Ebede were very much afraid of them. While I was examining the ruins I overheard a mother in a tent near by thus threaten her crying boy: "Be quiet, or the Rwejlî will come and get thee."

Barğas had already been informed that I was to go with an-Nûri eben Ša'lân, the prince of the Rwala, to the inner desert, and he promised that his tribesmen would not rob me if they should make an attack on the Rwala. Having conversed with him on all matters important to me and having made him agree to furnish me with a guide, one camel, and two large water bags for the trip to ar-Rešâfa, I strolled over to the pagan temple of al-Ḳšejr and still farther into the ruins. For dinner they gave me jam made from grapes (*debes*) boiled soft in butter, and very thin freshly baked bread. In the evening Barğas had our supper of meat and rice brought beside my baggage, where he ate and sat with me until almost midnight. I was eager to leave in the morning, but Barğas' camels were not to return from pasture until the following evening, and, since I needed one more camel to carry our water, I had no choice but to wait.

The ‘Ebede and the Kmuşa are two divisions of the as-Sba’a tribe of the ‘Aneze group and number about 3500 tents. The ‘Ebede are subdivided into:

	al-Mwâjže	
	al-‘Ebede proper	
	al-Mseke.	
Clans of al-Mwâjže:	Âl Sâlem	(chief: Barğas eben Hdejb)
	Âl Kwêrân	(„ Derzi walad Farhân)
	an-Nşafa’	(„ Farhân eben ‘Abbûd)
	al-Mesânde	(„ ‘Awde)
	al-‘Ağlât	(„ Na’sân)
	aş-Şanâbir	(„ ‘Arsân).
Clans of al-‘Ebede:	Âl Dawâm	(„ Ramażân al-Fķiki)
	al-‘Arafa	(„ ‘Ameş eben ‘Amire)
	al-Wuṭara	(„ Lebbâd eben Fâ’ûr)
	Âl Zuwê’en	(„ Bâtel eben Şarrâb).
Clans of al-Mseke:	al-Mseke	(„ ‘Âşi eben Ğlâdân)
	Âl Rmâḥ	(„ Barğas eben Wâjel)
	Âl Mwêne’	(„ Fâzel eben Mwêne’)
	al-‘Abâdât	(„ Aḥmad eben Kardûş)
	al-Bejâje’a	(„ Mezjed eben ‘Awde).

In war the commander-in-chief or “chief of the camel saddle” (*şejḥ aš-şâd*) is Fâzel eben Mwêne’.

Monday, October 19, 1908. I got hardly any sleep that night. Scarcely had Barğas left when whole groups of visitors one after another came in with all sorts of questions and stories; and they were not a little surprised that I was interested in neither. Barğas came in every half hour to remind us to keep an eye on our baggage lest anything be lost. As soon as the morning star appeared, hundreds of camels returning from the watering places passed us on their way to pasture. In the tents, *şufr*, or the supper of the month of *ramażân*, was being prepared, and the Bedouins ate and drank. We set up our theodolite to ascertain the latitude, but the sky was overcast all the time, and when the pole star appeared for a short time it soon was again obscured by dense clouds.

RUINS OF ESRIJA

After breakfast I went with Tûmân to the Esrija ruins, which cover a basin one kilometer wide. This basin is open on the northwest and through it winds the bed of a creek of the same name, Esrija. At the eastern end of the basin, on the right bank of the channel, there rises a hillock where there are remains of a strong fort with two deep wells. Op-

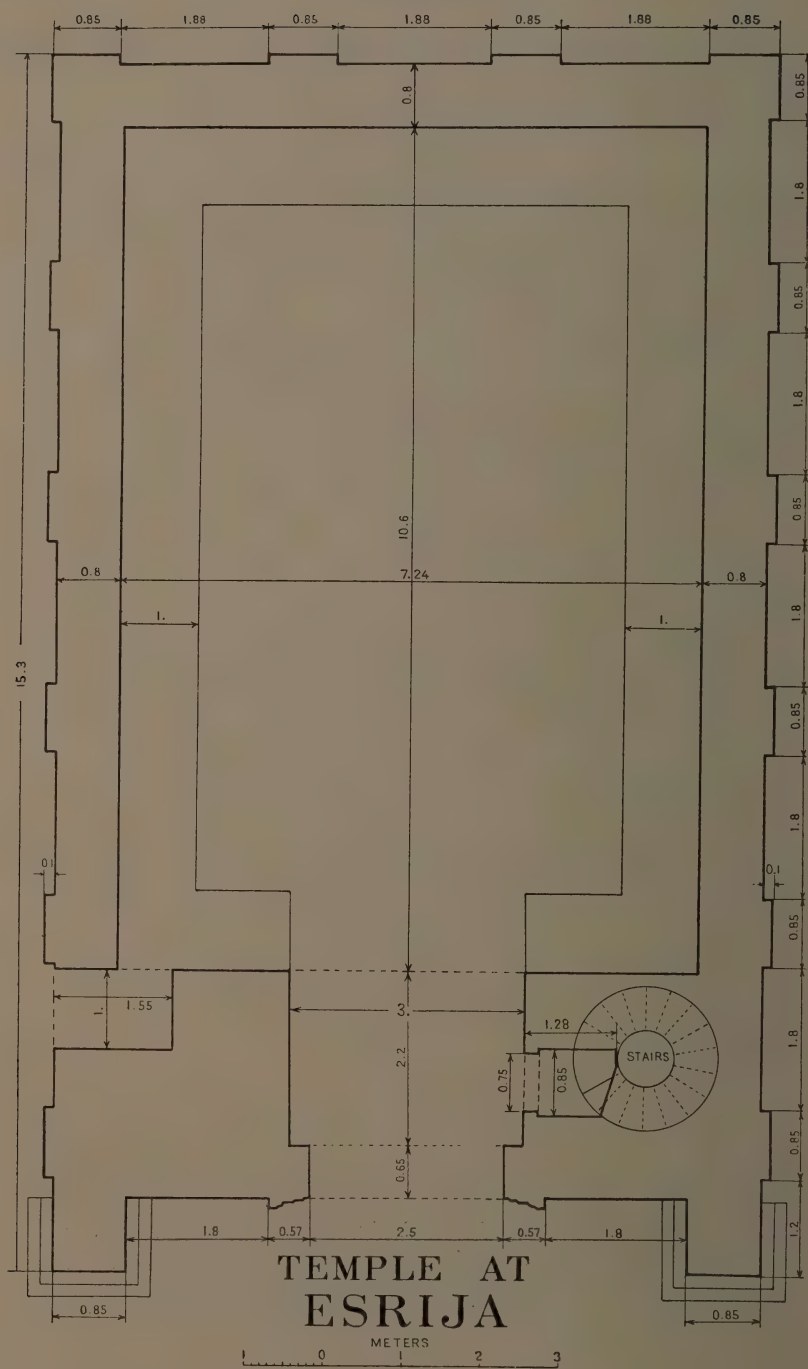


FIG. 10—Esrija: temple, plan.

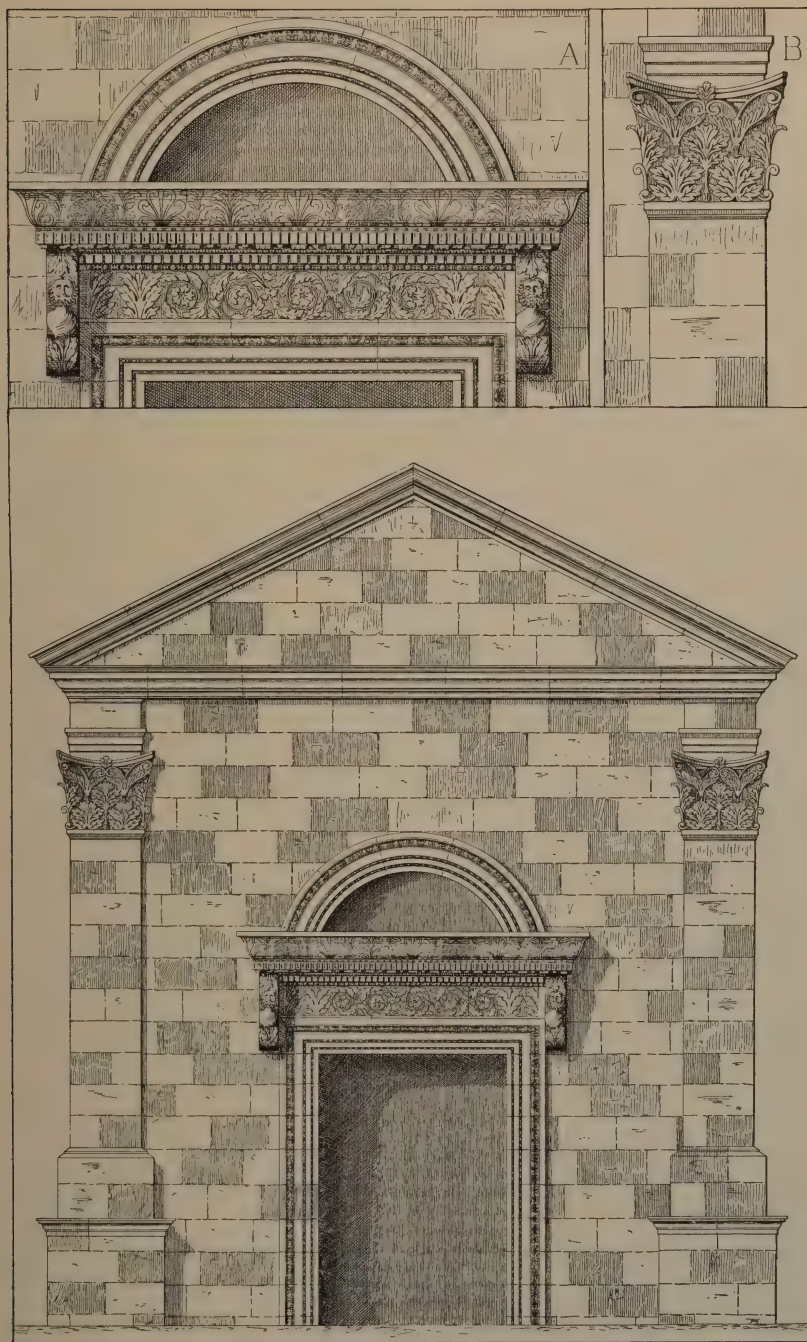


FIG. 11—Esrija: temple, façade; a) detail of lintel and arch;
b) detail of capital.

posite the fort on the same bank the foundation walls of a stately round building measuring seventy paces in diameter are still to be seen. Its roof evidently rested on gigantic pillars, the drums of which have been dug out by *fellâhîn* searching for water. On one of these I saw two Greek letters. About two hundred paces to the west I found the apse of a Christian church. Still farther west both the banks of the channel and the neighboring hillsides are covered with the remains of ruined houses. At the northwest end of the ruins there rises on the ridge formed by the spur Tanâheğ Esrija a tolerably well preserved pagan temple (Figs. 10, 11). This forms a rectangle 15.3 meters long from east to west by 9.04 meters wide. From the east a gate 2.5 meters wide leads into it. In the corner to the right of the gate there is a spiral stairway reaching to the roof. The gate and the whole east side have remained almost intact. There are heaps of débris of other ruined buildings about the temple. Here I found and copied an Arabic inscription.

Northeast of the temple there is a reservoir 236 paces long from north to south by 174 wide. Northwest of it on the right bank can be seen the foundation walls of a Christian church. A few paces farther north is another church with an adjoining monastery, on the cornice of which are Christian emblems (Fig. 12). From the Christian church a beautiful view opens out over the extensive plain stretching west and northwest as far as the black mountain chains of al-Ḥaṣṣ and Šbêḥ (or Šbêt). Splendid in the rays of both rising and setting sun, the pagan temple must have been a shrine sacred to the inhabitants of the numerous towns, villages, and lonely dwellings strewn over the plain to the west, and a place of annual pilgrimage. When Esrija became a Christian town the former pagan temple was converted into a Christian church and after the expulsion of the Christians into a Mohammedan place of worship. It is owing solely to this double transformation that it was not demolished entirely.¹³

¹³ The present name of the ruins points to the old town of Seria or Serija.

The *Antonine Itinerary*, 194: 11—195: 3; 197: 5—198: 1, mentions a road running from Beroa 15 Roman miles to Calcida, thence 27 miles to Androna, thence 18 miles to Seriane, thence 32 miles to Salaminiada, and thence 18 miles to Emessa. — Seriane, lying between Androna (the present Anderin) and Salaminiada (now Salamja), must be identical with the Serija or Esrija of today.

At-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 2, pp. 1896 f., and 1908, relates that Merwân II marched from al-Kastal by way of Sûrija and Dejr al-Laṭāk to ar-Ruṣāfa. — Sûrija is identical with our Esrija, 35 kilometers northeast of al-Kastal on the road to ar-Reṣāfa. See above, p. 50, note 12.

Jākūt, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 187 f., places Sûrija, called popularly Sûja, between Hunāsira and Salamja in Syria. Fleischer (*ibid.*, Vol. 5, p. 255) remarks with regard to this that the

Adorned by so many churches, monasteries, and mighty buildings at one time, what remains of the city of Esrija today? In the very same places where formerly stood the houses of rich inhabitants, there were at the time of my visit about three hundred tents, the largest of them — that of Barġas — erected on seven poles, the others on five, three, two, or even on a single pole. Here and there long slender spears projected above the tents; on the tent ropes hung red quilts and rugs; through the encampment fettered mares moved to and fro, and near them their colts gamboled. Around the numerous

wells crowded thirsty camels, for which half-naked herdsmen drew up water, humming short ditties as they worked. The camels growled; the she-camels wailed for their young ones, who gave little bleats; and the hungry mares whinnied. The whole camp was enveloped in rising vapors and smoke. From the south came flocks of bleating sheep; from the north long rows of camels, which their herdsmen tried to coax to greater speed by their characteristically monotonous singsong. From the plain three wild-looking riders with waving hair came at a gallop to the camp, announcing that they had seen far to the northeast a troop of the enemy. Thus appeared before me the once famous city of Esrija. But Barġas wanted to build it anew and promised me that after ten years I should surely eat grapes in Esrija from vineyards everywhere covering the hillsides. *In šâ allâh!*

Our guide, Aḥmad, felt no desire to return and tormented me all day with entreaties to be permitted to accompany us still farther. He offered to serve for a fourth of a *meġīdijje* (23 cents) a day, if he could only get plenty of sweet tea. When I told him it was absolutely impossible, he begged

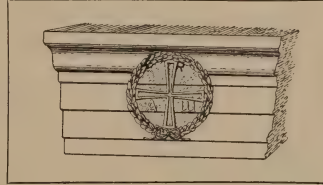


FIG. 12—Esrija, a cornice with a Christian emblem.

form "Sūja" (or even "Sūja," as given by Abu-l-Fadā'il, *Marāsid* [Juynboll], Vol. 2, p. 67) is possible as an abbreviation for Sūrija: it should, rather, read Surja. This view is entirely correct. The transcribers confused the *r* with *w*. We may assume that the form "Surja" corresponds with the Latin Seriane (and the modern Serija or Esrija), since we know that the Latins and Greeks also transcribe elsewhere the Arabic *u* with *i* or *e*. Thus the Arabic Ruṣāfa was spelled by classical writers "Risappa" or "Resapha."

Della Valle (*Viaggi* [Venice, 1664], Vol. 1, p. 569) found here numerous wells with good water and near them such remains of a large, ancient town as marble slabs, columns, pedestals, capitals, and stone walls of various thicknesses. He asserts that this great place was evidently abandoned on account of the sterility of the neighborhood and that the Arabs call it Serija.

for higher wages, claiming that the gendarme had made no agreement with him and that therefore his pay depended on my liberality and appreciation.

The night was just as restless as the last. After midnight we determined the latitude and shivered with cold in doing so. We should have liked to drink some hot black coffee but dared not light a fire ourselves; and Barĝas' servant, whose particular business it was, slept and would not get up. When Barĝas finally woke him with many kicks, he went to other tents in search of dried camel-manure and after lighting a fire declared again that he could find no coffee beans. Having hunted for them through the whole tent, he came begging us to lend him some. He now began to roast, and then to crush and boil it, but all this very leisurely, so that not until six o'clock could we drink a cup of coffee ordered at two in the morning.

CHAPTER IV

ESRIJA TO KAŞR AL-HÊR BY WAY OF AR-REŞÂFA

ESRIJA TO AR-REŞÂFA

Tuesday, October 20, 1908. Our water bags were already filled, the whole baggage loaded, and still we could not depart. Sheikh Barġas wanted to make me a gift of a killed sheep but could find no one who would kill the animal, which had been tied to his tent since the evening before. In the morning Barġas asked several men, promising them both the fleece and the head, but nobody felt inclined to do the job. At last his coffee cook took pity on him, killed the sheep, and skinned it with the help of Mĥammad. Having received the meat, we had still to wait until our new guide could procure a sheep-skin coat to wear on the journey; having none of his own, he wandered from tent to tent begging at each for the loan of one. I squatted with Barġas and his uncle ʿAzw, waiting patiently until a coat was finally found. At last we left at 7.10 (temperature: 14°C). Barġas accompanied me part of the way and promised me his friendship. It cost me a Mannlicher carbine and a nickeled Gasser revolver; also one hundred rounds of ammunition. This revolver I brought Barġas as a present; but when he wanted Tûmân's carbine too, at first I would not give it to him, pretending that I could not be without it on our dangerous trip, but finally let him have it in exchange for a Martini rifle with fifty rounds of ammunition. The maker of coffee received one *meġîdijje* (90 cents) for his thorough and quick work.

After riding alongside the tents and then going east-northeast, we crossed the *še'ib* of ad-Dwejlîb and shortly after the *še'ib* of al-Ĥabar.

The latter rises on the northern slope of the aş-Şoţob mountains and receives on its right the short *še'ibân* of al-Fâsde and al-Fşaka, the latter opposite the ruins of al-Ĥamra. To the southeast of al-Ĥamra there flows a spring at the ruins of the fortress of al-ʿÂşže. The *še'ib* of al-Ĥabar ends at the salt marsh Sbaĥt al-Morâra. West of it from north to south stretch the hills Tanâheġ Esrija and Ĥawijjet al-Buţma, and east of it rise the hills of al-Ĥarbaĥa (or Ĥarbaĥat al-Ĥsejje) and al-

Fâsde. East of al-Ḥarbaḳa appeared the ridge of Umm 'Ajjâš, south of which extends the Durmand basin. This basin is bounded on the west by the al-Mra' ridge; on the south by Abu Riġmên; on the east first by a spur of Abu Riġmên and then by Abu Tummên, as well as by the rough hills of Ebrêrit, all of which also enclose the basin on the north. To the northeast of the hills of Ebrêrit is the well Ġebb al-Kdej̄m, west of which rise the isolated crags Ašâbe' Kdej̄m and al-Jetime, and farther north al-Ḥaššâbijje.

Looking up the broad valley of al-Ḥabar we sighted to the south, above the hillocks of Ḥarbaḳat al-Hrejbe, the northwestern part of the high mountain ridge of al-Abjaz, called Zahr al-Metenne; northwest of it we could see the crest of aš-Šotob, with aš-Šâ'er, Umm 'Akerše, and al-Mra' extending to the east. Northeast of the last-named spread out the gray, rocky hillocks of al-Mezâbe', among which rises the še'ib of al-Fâska. On the right, in the basin of the al-Kdej̄m wells, this še'ib is joined by the še'ibân of Aḥejzer, Naṣabt al-Ḥšûni, and ad-Defâ'i, and the combined še'ib is called Râr. Parallel with our course extended the hilly region of Ḥejjân al-Ejr (with the wells Ġebâb Ġam') and Abu-l-Fejjâz (with a well of the same name); farther east lay the Ab-an-Nêtel hills, where a sulphur spring bubbles out; and finally al-'Afuwijjât with the at-Turkmâniyye ruin on its northeasterly spur.

The neighborhood of the Ab-an-Nêtel wells is a favorite camping ground of the Bedouins.¹⁴

East of the še'ib of al-Ḥabar we passed over an undulating plain between the oblong flat-topped height Ḥazm aš-Šerr on the north and the hilly area of Srejja on the south. We had to watch our camels carefully lest they fall into some of the numerous holes dug by the jumping mice called *ġerdi*. From 11.28 to 12.56 we rested and then rode on again over a similar plain until 3.25 P.M., when in the vicinity of the Râr valley we found good pasture for our camels about ten kilometers north of the Ġebb ab-an-Nêtel, where we spent the night.

Our new guide Ḥalîl eben Aḥmed was not a member of the 'Ebede, but of the Ḥûs family, who are goat and sheep breeders camping between ad-Dejr and ar-Raḳḳa; he soon had no rival among us for timidity. We should have liked to have reached the foot of the height near the water holes of al-Hrejbe, but our guide begged us not to, because there are caves at al-Hrejbe inhabited by spirits.¹⁵

¹⁴ Al-Ḥâzemi (Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 738) knew of the mountain of Nabtal in the territory of the Tajj tribe, as well as a place of that name in Syria. — Nabtal in Syria is perhaps miswritten for Nejtel, and I suppose it to be the watering place Ab-an-Nêtel.

¹⁵ I identify the wells of al-Hrejbe with the place named al-Ġerib in the territory which formerly belonged to the Tarleb tribe.

Abu-l-Faraġ, *Aṣṣani* (Bûlâk, 1285 A. H.), Vol. 4, p. 141, and al-Bekri, *Mu'ğam* (Wûstenfeld), p. 75, write that al-Aḥaṣṣ is a valley in the territory of the Beni Tarleb, where the Tarleb were often attacked by their relatives, the Bekr ibn Wâ'il. There, too, fell Kulejb ibn

After making camp, Tûmân and I sketched a map of the neighborhood.

Wednesday, October 21, 1908. In the evening we agreed to start the next day at least an hour before sunrise in order to reach ar-Reşâfa before nightfall, but when I tried to wake my companions in the morning not one of them wanted to get up, saying that they were shivering with cold. There was nothing for me to do, then, but unfetter the camels for pasture, light a fire, and put on the coffeepot myself. That made one after another of them crawl out of their cloaks and come to the fire. 'Abdallâh hesitated the longest and, when he finally rose and had drunk his coffee, he went with Ĥalîl for the camels and at the same time tried to find his short pipe (*sebîl*), which he had lost. He seemed to care so little for the camels that Mĥammad and I had to bring them home and load the baggage ourselves. In answer to my rebukes 'Abdallâh replied that he did not come with me to work, but to have a look at regions new to him.

At 6.20 A.M. (temperature: 14.2°C) we finally broke camp, going in a northeasterly direction, and at 6.50 we crossed the *še'ib* of Râr, near which are the wells of al-Kĥejm, Râr, and Ab-an-Nêtel, and which disappears in the plain of al-Metâjih. At eight o'clock we approached the broad and flat height Tاراĥ al-Ĥrejbe, which sinks gradually from north to south, and then went over the plain of aş-Şafja, where we noticed great numbers of snakes. Soon to the southeast and then to the south of us were the walls of a square ruin called at-Turkmânijje and farther southeast of them the low long ridges Zêl' an-Na'âm.

From 10.18 to 11.45 we rested in the plain of an-Nbâĥ (or Ambâĥ) by a large pile of stones, from the top of which we could see the whole country from south to east.

To the west the view was obstructed by the heights Tاراĥ al-Ĥrejbe and Tاراĥ aş-Şafja. To the north rose the heights Tاراĥ Ambâĥ, al-'Atfa and al-'Anz. To the northeast spread a vast plain shut in on the south by the little gray rocks Zêl' an-Na'âm and al-A'wuĥât. To the southeast we looked into the wide valley of al-Meleĥ, bounded on the west by the hills of Zêl' an-Na'âm and al-Ĥarîĥ with its western spur, 'Orf Twênân. West of the last-named rises the steep cone of al-'Wejr and to the south, al-

Rabî'a, struck down by Ġassâs ibn Murra of the Bekr tribe. Kulejb had been troubling the Bekr tribe, who camped with the Tarleb; he had driven them away from the rain pools in Šubejt, al-Aĥaşş, and al-Ġerîb, and finally from ad-Danâ'ib. Here he posted himself at the watering place and sent the thirsty Bekr away from the water. At that Ġassâs rushed at and pierced him with his spear. This was the cause of the Basûs war between the two tribes which lasted forty years. —

Šubejt and al-Aĥaşş are the modern districts Šbêt and al-Ĥaşş northwest of al-Ĥrejbe. For al-Ġerîb I read al-Ĥerîb, which is probably the same as our al-Ĥrejbe.

Miṣṭâḥ, which on the southwest joins the long ridge of Abu Riğmên. This ridge stretches, with a steep descent to the north, from al-Mra' as far east as the ridge of al-Biṣri and is made up of several mountains. A spur of it, Tamm Aḥejzer, runs out westwards. The Abu Riğmên ridge is split at about the middle by the gap Rî' al-Hawa, separating the mountains of al-Morâr from those of Umm 'Aṣûr on the east. Above the latter rises the high dome of Ḥawijjet ar-Râs with its northern spur, al-Lâbde; farther east lie the mountain chain of al-Morâra and the steep dark ridges of al-Mķejbre and al-Minšâr. Al-Minšâr reaches almost to the southern part of the valley of al-Meleḥ. All these mountains give good pasture to the flocks of goats and sheep of the 'Umûr tribe, and among them numerous valleys are cultivated.

Soon after noon we met great herds of camels owned by the 'Ebede. From the herdsmen we learned that some of their kin were camping near ar-Reṣâfa and watering their herds in the Euphrates. Finally, after three o'clock, we sighted the walls of ar-Reṣâfa and scared away large flocks of *kaṭa'* and *kidri* (sand grouse) as well as a few *ḥabâri* (gray bustards with white-bordered wings, a little smaller than our hens).

My companions wanted to go and spend the night with the 'Ebede encamped far to the northwest of ar-Reṣâfa. Our guide Ḥalîl especially begged me not to sleep near a town where spirits live. Therefore at 5.20 (temperature: 23° C) we lay down about three and a half kilometers south of the tents in a small dry flat, which in the rainy season receives the water from the whole neighborhood. Ḥalîl lamented all night and would not be calmed until we were joined by several herdsmen, among whom he then hid himself.

AR-REṢÂFA

Thursday, October 22, 1908. In spite of the opposition of my companions, I had no fire lighted, and we set out at 5.20 A. M. Our camels bore us to the east as quietly as if we were swimming. Already the eastern horizon was turning rosy, but the earth was still dark. The sky in the east slowly cleared up, and we sighted in front of us first three black peaks and immediately after the black towers and battlements of the ruins of ar-Reṣâfa.¹⁶ Everything in the ruined town was black and covered by night. Through the crevices in the walls and reflected in the windows the bright eastern sky could be seen. I should have liked much to have seen the town in the rays of the rising sun; but it was still very early, and all the time

¹⁶ For a more complete description of ar-Reṣâfa, which I again visited in 1912, see below, Chapter IX.

we were drawing nearer the black masses of masonry in this dead city. The sound of a human voice could nowhere be heard. Only a hyena howled among the ruins and was answered by a few owls. My companions remained far behind, and my she-camel shied before the ghost-like outlines we were now approaching. Nothing was left but for me to turn south and make my animal kneel down near the city walls. Having fettered both its front feet and having concealed my saddlebag, I prepared to enter the ruins. Ascending the wall, I called out to my men to light a fire and warm up some coffee, because I had to begin work with Tûmân at once.

Rifle in hand I entered the ruins to find a place to work from; but, returning after a short half hour to our baggage, I found neither my companions nor the camels. The latter were grazing far to the south and, as far as my binoculars helped to show me, were dragging their reins after them. The baggage was scattered, and the men were in the ruins treasure-hunting. Even Ḥalîl had conquered his fear of the spirits and attached himself to Tûmân, believing that in his company the hidden treasure would soon appear. There was nothing to be done, then, but to find all the other men and make them prepare the coffee for us.

Having supplied ourselves with the necessary instruments, after breakfast I went with Tûmân and the gendarme to the church of St. Sergius, where we worked until past noon. First we sketched a plan; then I copied the inscriptions and took photographs, while Tûmân made drawings of the ornaments. In the afternoon we worked in the southern basilica. Fearing the rain, my men led the animals into the town, carried our baggage there, and unloaded it under the arch of a half-ruined house. Ḥalîl warned them not to anger the spirits, but they seemed to be more afraid of the rain than of his spooks. Since it was evident that our stay in ar-Reşâfa would be longer than we were prepared for and since we needed water and barley for the gendarme's horse, I asked Ḥalîl to go and get both, but neither he nor ʿAbdallâh showed much liking for the errand. Only after I had promised to pay two *meğîdijjât* (\$ 1.80) for getting what we now urgently needed, were they both at once eager to go; but each claimed that he could go alone and needed no one to help him. Then I decided that together they should go to the Euphrates, buy barley there, and fill two water bags.

I never saw a man so afraid of spooks as Ḥalîl proved

to be on the following night. He groaned and lamented, embraced the gendarme's legs, and begged me wailingly to order the baggage to be loaded and to leave the wretched town. He saw a ghost called ar-Reṣâfa in every shadow. He described the ghost as a tall woman with long loose hair. He showed us how she was approaching him, how she wanted to embrace and kiss him, and that she would strangle him. At first we laughed at him; then I tried to calm and cheer him; but when I finally saw that his hallucinations made the rest of the men afraid too, I became angry and told him to get ready for his trip to the Euphrates. 'Abdallâh would not leave before he had had a drink of coffee, but we had no dry camel manure for building a fire. Ḥalîl now fell on 'Abdallâh's neck, kissed him, and begged him to take pity on him and not to allow his three little daughters to become orphans, should ar-Reṣâfa strangle their father. After that they loaded the empty water bags on a camel and departed after midnight. I advised them to encamp north of ar-Reṣâfa among the 'Ebede herdsmen and to start for the Euphrates only after daybreak. When they left I lay down in the hope of getting a good sleep. But the gendarme, who was on the last watch, was hardly less afraid than Ḥalîl and came every few minutes either to me or to Mḥammad to ask about one thing or another. Not until the morning star had shown itself above the eastern horizon and the power of spooks and ghosts had vanished, could any of us fall asleep, and then we did not wake up until the first rays of the sun showed themselves.

Friday, October 23, 1908. After breakfast we finished the plan of the southern basilica and began to survey the town walls, work which occupied us until almost three o'clock in the afternoon; then we made a drawing of the martyr's south of the northern town gate. Before sunset I went to the monastery church north of the town, and, shortly after, Mḥammad came there with the report that Ḥalîl was waiting south of the town with both the camels that carried the water bags and the fodder, declaring that he would not enter the ruins again and that he would leave us altogether if we would not camp with him south of the town.

I then sent him word to mount Barḡas's camel and return to his chief and tell him how he had behaved while with us and why he had deserted. At the same time I ordered him

to say that I had asked the chief for a man and that he had given me a craven coward.

I did not return to our camp until after sunset and there I learned that 'Abdallâh had joined Halîl and that both would spend the night south of the town.

Saturday, October 24, 1908. Early in the morning I went to the monastery church north of the northern gate and copied a Greek inscription. After this I sketched two mausoleums built north of this church and copied several Arabic inscriptions in the old cemetery northwest of the town. While there I disturbed several adders with thick tubercles on their heads. Two were lying under one of the tombstones. The moment I tried to turn the stone over, one of them leapt at my hand and I only escaped being bitten by a miracle. On returning to the town I examined the reservoirs as well as the larger buildings to the north of them, where I found several inscriptions. My companions now pressed me to depart. As the 'Ebede had gone farther west and there was no other camp then in the neighborhood of ar-Reşâfa, they feared lest we be attacked by marauders at night and either killed or robbed.

AR-REŞÂFA TO AL-KWÊM

At 3.45 A.M. we led our camels out of the town and rode south. The guide, Halîl, was to return to his master, but he insisted that he dare not leave until he had delivered us to the chief al-Fkîkî; that such was the order of the head chief Barğas and that he must therefore act accordingly. When I reminded him how he had threatened to leave us the night before, he replied that Barğas did not order him to perish in the embraces of ar-Reşâfa and therefore he was perfectly justified in protecting his own life.

Our new guide, a herdsman of the 'Ebede, Naşşâb eben Žâsem by name, knew the surrounding country well but was very indolent. All he delighted in was rest and sweet tea, and scarcely had we left ar-Reşâfa than he began to ask when and where we should encamp and what we should have for supper.

The country south of ar-Reşâfa is an undulating and fertile plain where at 4.52 we made camp near a small but solid building called al-Kşejr (Fig. 13). This forms a square

with sides of almost fifteen meters; at the northern end of its western wall a door leads into a court 13.6 meters long from east to west and 7.6 meters wide. At about the center of the south side there is an entrance to a room 4.45 meters

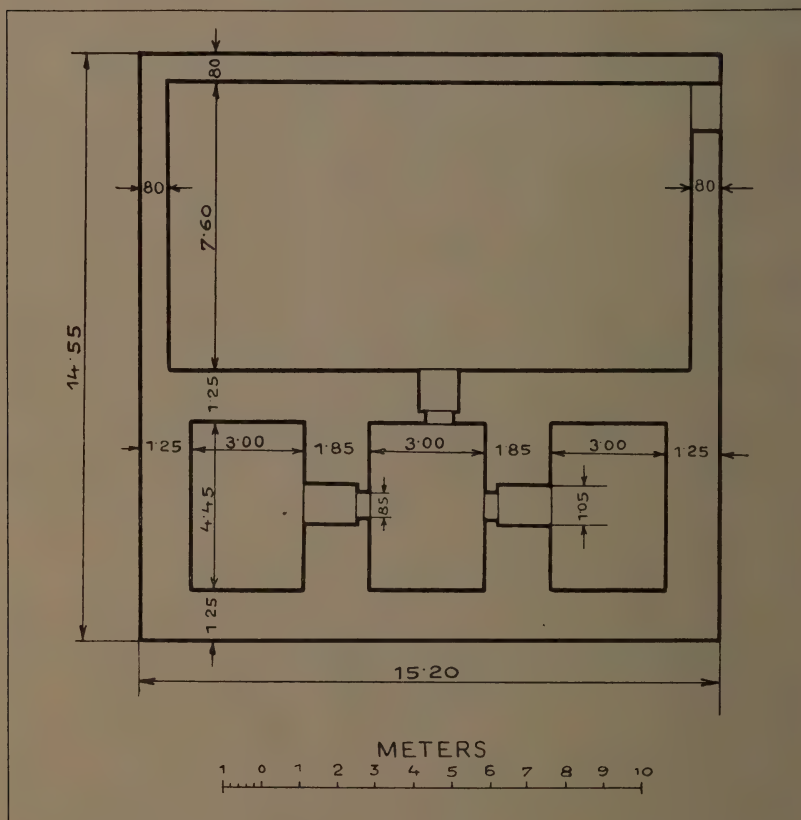


FIG. 13—Al-Kšejr, plan.

long by 3 meters wide, adjoining which both on the west and east are similar rooms. All three are vaulted and windowless.

From the roof of this building we sketched a map of the vicinity. To the northeast, east of ar-Reṣāfa, rises the isolated hill of al-Mhêra, northwest of which projects the rather low but steep escarpment of the plateau of al-Mezābe^c, which is connected with the ridge of al-Biṣri on the south by the hills of Rġûm aš-Ših, az-Zmejli, and Zemlet al-Kâ'ijje. From the latter the hills of al-Bowljijât extend westward and their spurs of al-A'jûġât close the valley of al-Meleḥ. Behind these heights tower the

steep walls of al-Biŗri, the limestone ridge stretching northeastward from the head of the al-Meleŗ valley. This ridge is broad and flat-topped and is intersected by numerous deep ravines. After abundant rain both camels and sheep find good pasture in the ravines and gullies and on the slopes of al-Biŗri.

To the southeast of al-Kŗejr, on which we stood, and west of al-Biŗri there appeared on the sky line the high mountain chain of Abu Riŗm n with the deep notch of Ri  al-Hawa, from which the upland of Bil s extends to the north and northwest. Nearly south of al-Kŗejr the mighty butte  Orf aŗ-Tajjibe projected from the eastern spur of the al-Minŗ r ridge, and almost in the same direction but nearer where we stood rose the truncated cone Tell Fhede. The hills of Aŗ be  Kŗejm, Ab-an-N tel, and al- Afuwijj t clustered together to the southwest of our position, forming the western edge of the drainage basin of al-Meleŗ, which gathers all the run-off into the low plain west of ar-Reŗ fa during an abundant season, giving it the appearance of a big lake.

The smoke of our fire attracted a traveling Bedouin who declared that he would serve as our guard against a night attack. The reason for this magnanimity was the goat's meat which Mŗammad was just then cooking for supper.

Sunday, October 25, 1908. There was lightning that night on three sides and a cold westerly wind driving black clouds before it. When we started out at six o'clock, the whole southern sky was overcast, and broad bands slanting down told us of rain in that direction. The damp cold penetrated to our bones. The plain of ar-Rŗ m, through which we were now passing, rises gradually towards the south. At eight o'clock we were close to the ruins of al-Ĥulle village, which lie on the northern slope of the height of al-Aŗ   t. About five hundred paces southwest of this hamlet we saw the remains of a fortified encampment. At 8.10 T m n and I went to examine them, while our companions proceeded farther south. I called to them to stop, but in vain, since they were afraid of the rain and paid no attention. Unable any longer to hold our camels, who wished to follow the other animals, we had to survey the ruins but superficially and at 8.20 to trot after the others.

Our guide called the ruins al-Ĥalla, but Turkijje, Prince Saŗ  m's widow, to whom I traced the ruins after our return to Prince an-N ri's encampment, pronounced it al-Ĥolle or al-Ĥulle. The camp (Fig. 14) is approximately 60 meters long from north to south by 55 meters wide. The walls are buttressed at each of the four corners by a round tower and between the corners by two towers on each side. From the

east and west sides gates lead into a yard, where the foundations of several walls are still perceptible, and nearly in the

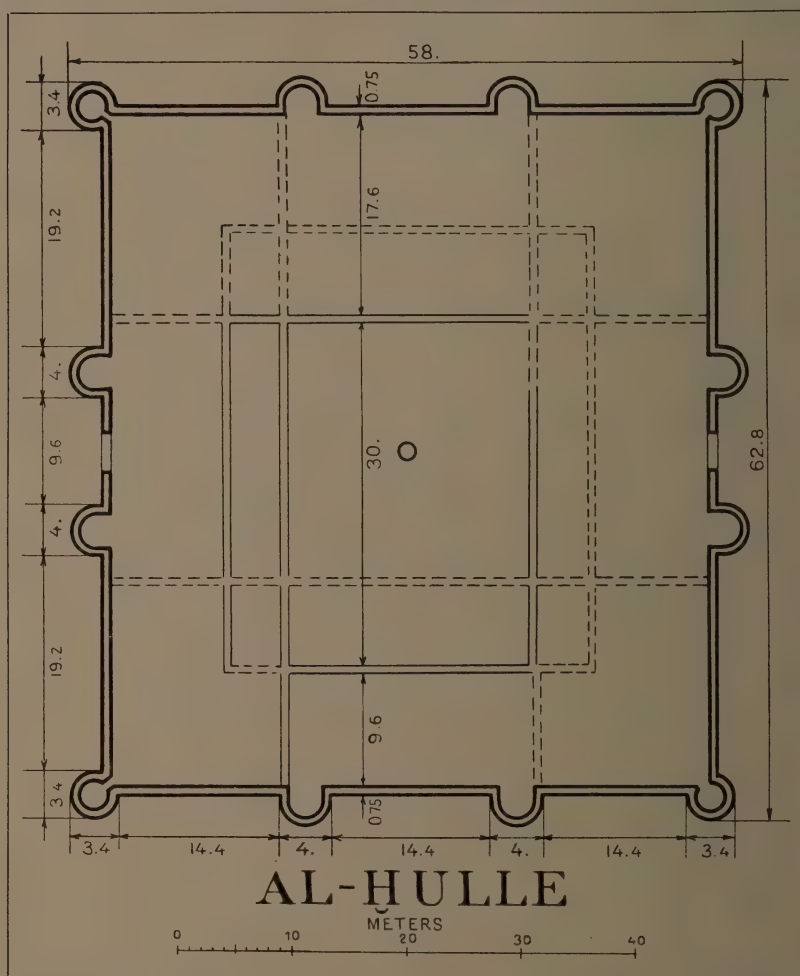


FIG. 14—Al-Hulle, plan.

center of the yard there is what might have been a well or a deep cistern.

Our guide was positive that we should find a huge ruin below the hill of Fhede, which from afar resembles a fort of large dimensions. Having crossed at nine o'clock the shallow

but wide river bed which emerges from the wells of ar-Reḥûb, we halted at 9.28 at the foot of Tell Fhede, where we stayed until 11.45. Here we were caught by a chilly shower which fortunately ceased after half an hour. But we found no ruins either about Fhede or on its summit.

The view from the summit, however, was splendid. To the southwest the eye rests on the high ridge of aš-Šâ'er and to the south on the mighty mountain chain of Abu Riġmên with its northeastern spur, al-Minšâr. To the east appears the high ridge of al-Biṣri, in the center of which stood three dome-shaped hills called Tlejtuwât. North of the eastern dome lie the wells Ġebâb al-Kâ'ijje and southwest of it the well Ġebb al-Ġâjri. Southwest of the western dome projects an oblong hillock, Tell ad-Dabbe, and to the south glistens the steep white scarp Ṭâr as-Sbê'i.

Wending our way farther through the innumerable broad but low white hillocks and mounds of al-A'jûġât, at 1.20 P. M. we reached the al-Ķdejr ruins, whence we turned a little to the left. At 1.40 we sighted the Nedwijjât al-Ķdejr wells about two kilometers to our right. They were in the center of a white area, to which the black tents of the Arabs camping there formed a bizarre contrast. All about us were white rocks of soft limestone. Salinas glistened in the valleys and lowlands, and both to the right and left of our road there were heaps of dug earth and the rather shallow but wide pits from which salt is mined. The largest salina, Sbaḥt al-Ķdejr, shone forth about ten kilometers west of us. The small village of al-Kowm, which we passed on our right at 3.40, numbers fifteen huts built on high mounds of dug earth. Here also salt has long been mined. Ḥasan al-Ĥmejd was the village elder.¹⁷

In al-Kowm as well as in the smaller village of al-Kwêm, which lies to the south, there are numerous wells of salt water. The valley of al-Meleḥ, on the edge of which lie both villages, is over five kilometers wide. About ten kilometers west of al-Kowm there is a small depression, from which the

¹⁷ In the year 1302 the Tartars prepared a new onslaught on Syria. Having crossed the Euphrates, they encamped for a time on the flood plain by its banks. A detachment of about ten thousand men attacked the settlement of al-Ķarjatân (al-Ķerjitejn) and other neighboring villages. The Moslem army gathered at Ḥama', whence a detachment was sent to al-Ķarjatân on March 27, 1303. It met the Tartars on March 31 in Kawm, near the 'Ord settlement, and defeated them there. But when the main Tartar army advanced on Ḥama', the Moslems drew off to Damascus and waited for the enemy in the Merġ aš-Şuffar, where the Sultan of Egypt joined them. The Tartars took up their position near the settlement of Şakḥab on the western line of the Merġ aš-Şuffar and ventured an attack; but they were repulsed on April 21 and pursued by way of al-Ķarjatân. As the Euphrates was flooded at that time, many of the fugitives were drowned in the river, which they could not cross, and the rest fled along the right bank towards Bagdad. The Arabs pursued and killed many of them and others died of hunger. (Abu-l-Feda', *Muḥtasar* [Adler], Vol. 5, pp. 182 f.) —

Kawm, where the Tartars were defeated on March 30, 1303, is identical with our al-Kowm, which is scarcely nine kilometers north of the ancient 'Ord, the aṭ-Ṭajjibe of today.

salt is extracted that accumulates there during the summer after good winter rains. Salt is also plentiful in the as-Sûk valley, which stretches southeastward. Our guide promised to take us direct from al-Kwêm to the Ẓaṣr al-Ḥêr ruins,



FIG. 15—Ẓaṣr al-Ḥêr: larger fort, plan.

thus leaving aṭ-Ṭajjibe on our right. For this reason we wished to fill our water bags at al-Kwêm, since the nearest water was as far distant as the settlement of as-Suḥne. It so happened that chief Ramaẓân al-F'kiki, a good friend of Barġas eben Hdejb, was camping near al-Kwêm. As my companions were positive that the next night would be the last one in *ramaẓân* (the month of fasting) and that from the morrow the Arabs everywhere would hold great feasts, they gave themselves up to the glad anticipation of being al-F'kiki's

guests and the recipients of various presents, as is the custom of the country on such occasions. Knowing, however, that a prolonged visit to chief Ramaẓân al-Fķiki would but cause me unnecessary fatigue and expense, I turned to the wells where we wished to replenish our water bags. But the guide warned me against the salt water of al-Kwêm and was also of the opinion that we should not go through the as-Sûķ valley. He had heard that the ʿAmârât herdsmen were camping south-east of aṭ-Ṭajjibe and might attack us. Taking his advice, therefore, we left al-Kwêm at once and made for the as-Sulṭâni road leading along the foot of the al-Minšâr ridge, east of which at 4.42 we pitched our camp on a small flat. ʿAbdallâh and the gendarme were much displeased at this arrangement and kept on asking Allâh why He suffered them to spend the last night of *ramazân* in so lonely a manner.



FIG. 16—Kaşr al-Hêr:
smaller, or Persian, fort.

AL-KWÊM TO KAŞR AL-HÊR

Monday, October 26, 1908. Leaving at six o'clock, we advanced south-southeastwards on the as-Sulṭâni road. We passed a watchtower on our right and then crossed the aqueduct Kenât an-Nedwijje, which carries the water southeast to Kaşr al-Hêr. There we saw before us the little shrine of aš-Şejh Ibrâhîm and east of it an old square tower, about which were grouped the twenty-five huts of the hamlet of aṭ-Ṭajjibe. The latter is inhabited by the Felâliḥ, who obey their elder, Hmejd al-Ġlâl. Northwest of the hamlet there rises a high mound of excavated earth, which proves that here also salt was formerly mined. At the eastern foot of the mound the spring of Nahr al-Kebîr flows forth, from which we wished to water our camels; our guide, however, declared that the water of ʿAjn al-Ġbêb to the south was better; therefore we rode on, halt-

ing at 6.25 at the southern end of the village in front of a huge lintel of a gate which now served as a prop for two huts. ‘Abdallâh, the guide, and the gendarme led the camels to the watering place. Mḥammad went to the village to

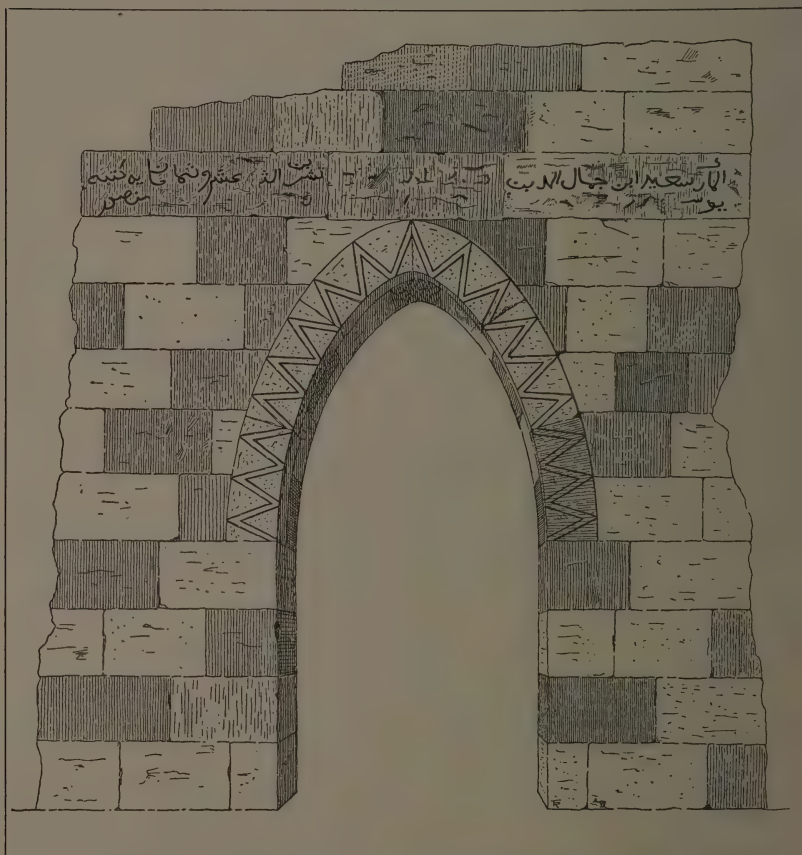


FIG. 17—Kaşr al-Hêr: Moslem gate.

buy barley for the horse, while Tûmân and I watched the baggage.

In a little while we were surrounded by the inquisitive and no less impudent ‘Amârât, who were camping south of us. It was not easy to make them keep a proper distance from our baggage. A villager about forty years old had to help me, for which I presented his little son with a piece of soap. In the

meantime the gendarme arrived with the report that the water in the 'Ajn al-Ġbêb was so turbid that it was impossible to fill the water bags immediately and that we must wait from two to three hours until it became clear again. Motioning to



FIG. 18—Kaşr al-Hêr: mosque.

the guide, who was just leading back the camels already watered, I ordered him to fether the animals, take the camel that was assigned to carrying the water to the northern spring, and fill the bags there.

The father of the boy to whom I had given the cake of soap brought me a stone with a Syriac inscription, of which I made both a squeeze and a written copy. He also wished to show me an old burying ground there, but, scarcely had I gone with him as far as the lintel mentioned above, when I heard a violent dispute between the gendarme and the 'Amârât and hence I had no choice but to return. The 'Amârât were making fun of the gendarme, inspecting the contents of his bag, and even trying to pull things out of his pockets. The gendarme resisted, threatened to shoot, and called to me to protect him and not let a representative of the Government in Constantinople be insulted by an uncivilized Arab rabble. Wishing to end this unpleasant affair quickly, I swung myself

into the saddle and rode southeast, my companions following my example. As we passed the 'Amârât tents I noticed that our new guide hired in at-Tajjibe was not with us. Mḥammad then told me that the old guide had frightened him away. Since it was impossible to go on without a guide, I sent Mḥammad back to the village to hire another one there. We waited for them in the Kenât as-Shejm valley until 9.30.

The settlement of at-Tajjibe¹⁸ lies on the eastern spur of the al-Minšâr ridge and dominates a large basin extending to the south and east. The boundaries of this basin on the west are the ridges of al-Minšâr, ẖoṭṭoṭ, and az-Zâheç;¹⁹ on the north, the hills of al-Ḥamra and Menâjet al-Ḥêr; on the east, the spurs of the al-Bišri mountains—called ad-Dîdi—and also the hillocks ẖahrât al-Ḥarrûba which sink gradually

¹⁸ The old name of the at-Tajjibe settlement is 'Ord. Since this word calls to mind the Day of Judgment, it is supposed to bring bad luck; hence it was replaced by the attributive at-Tajjibe (The Beneficial) and became obsolete.

The earliest mention of our 'Ord is, I believe, in the annals of King Assurbanipal (Rassam Cylinder [Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. 5, pl. 8], col. 8, ll. 101—104; Streck, *Assurbanipal* [1916], Vol. 2, p. 72). On the ninth expedition (about 640—638 B. C.) his army supplied itself with water at a walled-in place called Laribda, which had many wells. — The walled-in place of Laribda may be identified either with 'Ord or with al-Lâbde beside the al-Kdejm wells. Both from 'Ord and from al-Lâbde a road leads to the Palmyrene mountains, over which the Assyrian army was marching.

Jâkût, *Mu'jam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 3, p. 644, writes that the town of 'Ord, belonging to the administrative district of Aleppo, lies in the Syrian desert between Tadmur and ar-Ruṣâfa.

Al-Makrizî, *Sulâk* (Quatremère's transl.), Vol. 2, Part 2, p. 198, states that in the year 1303 the Tartars occupied al-Ḳarjatân and 'Ord. On March 31 the Egyptian army attacked the Tartars in their camp at 'Ord, defeated and plundered them, and took many prisoners.

In January, 1313, Ḥarbanda besieged ar-Raḥba with his Tartars and undertook the invasion of Syria. The heads of the Syrian towns assembled with their armies in the neighborhood of Hama'. Their spies penetrated even to 'Ord and as-Suḥne. When hunger and pestilence broke out in Ḥarbanda's camp, he drew back without withdrawing his war engines, which the defenders then brought into the fort of ar-Raḥba. (Abu-l-Feda', *Muṭṭaṣar* [Adler], Vol. 5, pp. 268 f.)

Ad-Dimiṣki, *Nuḥba* (Mehren), p. 202, knew of 'Ord as a great town on the edge of the desert, where also was as-Suḥne, the administrative center.

In 1616 Della Valle (*Viaggi* [Venice, 1664], Vol. 1, p. 569) reached a walled-in settlement called Taiba, which he said means "the good." There he found many old relics, especially in the mosque. The tower of the mosque was built with great care and, it seems, originally formed the tower of a Christian church. There are many columns there, used by the Moslems to strengthen their mud huts. Inside the mosque Della Valle saw a large square stone with a Greek inscription and, below this, two lines in letters unknown to him, but resembling either Hebrew or Samaritan. — This was a Greco-Palmyrene inscription of August, 134 A.D. (Lidzbarski, *Handbuch* [1898], Vol. 1, p. 477).

Tavernier, *Les six voyages* (Paris, 1679), Vol. 1, p. 285, says that Taiba is a kind of fort on the plain, built of mud bricks like Mached-Raba. At its gate a spring flows out filling a small pond close by. — Mached-Raba, or Meṣhed 'Alī, an habitual stopping place for caravans, lay beside the fort of ar-Raḥba.

¹⁹ Mount az-Zâheç was known to Arabic writers.

The poet 'Adī ibn ar-Rikā', who frequently visited the caliphs Walid I and Sulejmân ibn 'Abdalmalek, speaks of the table-like mountains of Dâḥek and al-Hazîm (Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 974). —

The caliph Walid I often stayed in the neighborhood of al-ẖerjitejn, whence a road leads via Tudmor and as-Suḥne to Irak. About twenty-five kilometers southwest of Tudmor is the well of al-Hazîm, and north of the as-Suḥne settlement rises the hill of az-Zâheç; we might, therefore, identify both these places with the al-Hazîm and Dâḥek of the poet 'Adī. But there are two places called Hazîm and Zâheç in the northwest corner of the depression of Sirḥân which lie much nearer together and for this reason may well have been the ones to which the poet referred. Abu-l-Feda' in the first redaction of his *Taḳwîm*, p. 105 (Reinaud's translation, Vol. 2, Part 1, p. 105) compared al-'Ared in Neḡd with Dâḥek near as-Suḥne.

from north to south; and on the south, the long flat ridge of az-Zwêheč. The whole of the basin might be cultivated.

Riding in an east-southeasterly direction along the aqueduct Kenât as-Shejm, we soon sighted the high walls of the fort of al-Hêr, where we remained from 11.52 to 3.50. At the southern foot of the height of al-Ĥamra stand two forts. The outside dimensions of the larger one are approximately 160 meters long from east to west by 150 meters wide; it has round towers on each corner and smaller towers on each side, 20.7 meters apart on the east and west sides and 22.6 meters apart on the north and south sides (Fig. 15). In the center of each side there is a gate flanked by two towers and leading into a spacious court, where a few remains of old walls could be seen. Five brackets ornamented with human faces project above the western gate (Fig. 24). About in the middle of the court there is a reservoir with a door shaped like a horseshoe, above which is written in Arabic (Fig. 17): "Al-Malek Sa'îd ibn Ġemâleddîn... *tîšrîn* the second, eight hundred and ten. Mañşûr wrote this." Thus the inscription dates from November, 1407; yet the fort itself is unquestionably of Roman origin. In the southeast corner of the fort a mosque was built (Fig. 18), with three aisles resting on pillars. The walls above the arches are constructed of brick, and among the débris lay various capitals (Figs. 19, 20). In the mosque grows luxuriant *benġi*.

Of more interest is the smaller fort, 42 meters east of the eastern gate (Figs. 16, 21). This is approximately 65 meters square on the outside. There is a round tower at each corner, and on each side except the west two smaller equidistant ones serve as buttresses. On the west the towers are a little nearer together, and a gate (Fig. 22) between them leads into a court full of débris. Abutting against each wall a row of rooms of unequal size is still to be seen. In the southeast and north-

FIG. 19

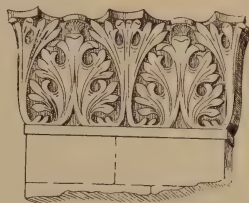


FIG. 20



FIGS. 19, 20—Kašr al-Hêr, capitals.



FIG. 21



FIG. 22

FIG. 21—Kaşr al-Hêr: smaller fort from the southwest.

FIG. 22—Kaşr al-Hêr: smaller fort, gateway.

east corners there are stairs leading up to the ramparts. Some of the towers are topped by brick domes (Fig. 23) and ornamented all around with pairs of semi-columns connected by arches. The columns, as well as the spaces between them, are covered with decorations. Between the two forts there is a well with a high tower above it, up to which more than twenty steps lead.²⁰

²⁰ In 1616 Della Valle (*op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 570; Vol. 4, p. 614), having started from Taiba, reached a place where there had once stood a town with a strong fort; its walls were built of huge boulders. It was called El Her by the Arabs. In 1625 Della Valle passed a similar fort named Heir. This was a large square building of white marble, with fortification walls having small round towers. In the court walls of white stone were still to be seen, but everything there was so dilapidated that it was impossible to obtain any idea of the arrangement of the interior.

Parsons (*Travels* [1808], pp. 75 ff.) traveled in the spring of 1774 from Aleppo via Hekla, at-Tajjibe, and 'Ana to Bagdad. He calls the castles of al-Ĥêr and al-Ĥwêr "Soor" (*ibid.*, p. 86). Sighting the walls from afar, he probably asked what they were and his guide answered "fortification walls (*sâr*)"; whereupon he put in his notes that both the forts were named Soor.

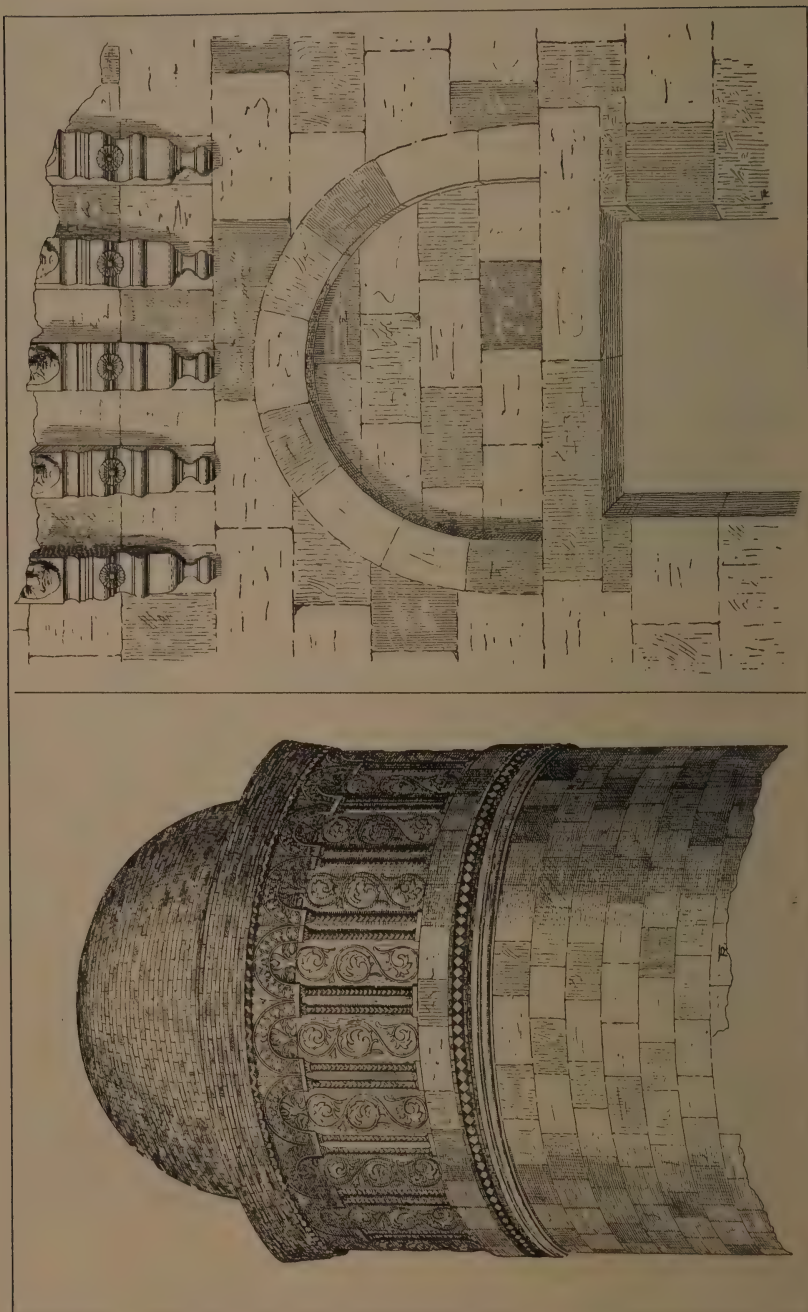


FIG. 23

FIG. 23—Kaṣr al-Hér: smaller fort, gateway tower.

FIG. 24

FIG. 24—Kaṣr al-Hér: larger fort, ornament over the western gateway.

CHAPTER V

KAṢR AL-ĤĤĒR TO AL-BÂRDE WELLS BY WAY OF ARAK AND AL-BĤARA

KAṢR AL-ĤĤĒR TO ARAK

Suddenly ten ʿAmârât came to us on camels and would have driven away our animals if we had let them. They asserted that we might be the spies of the enemy's troop whom their herdsmen had sighted on the previous day at al-Biṣri. As there was a possibility of our being attacked not only by this troop but also by the marauding ʿAmârât, we left the ruins in the evening and sought a sleeping place in the az-Zwêheč ridge. For over an hour we rode along a wall enclosing a garden. Six arches could be seen to the southeast, but we could not go to examine them just then. As we have already seen, the whole vicinity of Kaṣr al-ĤĤĒr might be cultivated, but only really good rains would assure a crop, and, since frequently periods as long as two years elapse with but little rain, artificial irrigation would be necessary. In olden times the aqueducts Kenât an-Nedwijje and Kenât as-Shejm conducted water to the neighborhood of the castle and they were easy to repair.

The run-off from the whole basin of al-Kowm flows to the *še'ib* of as-Sûk. As-Sûk begins at the junction of the al-Minšâr and al-ʿAfwijjât ridges, then runs along the western foot of ad-Dîdi and Zahrat al-Ĥarrûba, and finally disappears on the plain Fejzat ʿEdeme southeast of the al-Muḥejfir well. This well, now caved-in, lies at the southern foot of the tabular hills of az-Zwêheč on the old trade road leading from as-Suḥne to Dejr az-Zôr. About thirteen kilometers northwest of it a new well, which the Bedouins call Ġebb al-Ġedîd and the settlers Bîr al-Barrâla, was dug by the order of the governor of Dejr az-Zôr. This well is located west of the *še'ib* of ad-Dîdi and has plenty of water, which is unpalatable because of its brackish taste. In the dry period merchant caravans approach this well by the new as-Sultâni road along the northern side of az-Zwêheč and do not enter the old as-Sultâni road until east of ad-Dîdi near the *še'ibân* of ad-Defâjen. During the winter months, when water is to be found southeast of az-Zwêheč either in Radîr aṭ-Tejr or in Radîr al-Muḥejfir, they follow the old as-Sultâni road. Fresh water can be had all the year round at the Żelîb Neġîb well, which lies several kilometers south of the al-Muḥejfir well. The western of the two *še'ibân* of ad-Defâjen begins at the Tlejtuwât domes near the al-Ġâjri well and winds in an

easterly direction between Tell ad-Dabbe and ʿĪr as-Sbē'i on the west and Ša'afet al-Biṣri on the east. It is joined on the right by the *še'ib* of ad-Didi and disappears in the plain Fejzat Fâzel. The eastern *še'ib* of ad-Defâjen originates in Ša'afet al-Biṣri and ends in the same plain. At about the center of the long flat-topped az-Zwêheč ridge, which runs from east to west, stands the low dome of al-Ḳlejb.

At 5.40 we reached the new as-Sultâni road and went along it southwest as far as the knoll of al-Bwejb; there at 6.05 we encamped at an altitude of 452 meters.

Tuesday, October 27, 1908. We were not disturbed at night either by robbers or by rain, although after midnight we heard the neighing of a horse and observed incessant lightning. Having left our camp at six o'clock, we descended from the hill and took the new as-Sultâni road on the vast, white, rolling plain of al-Emejlât, which is shut in on the northeast by the az-Zwêheč ridge, on the north by az-Zâheč, on the west by the white escarpment of the ar-Rurâj, and on the south by the mighty heights of az-Zbejwât. Numerous *še'ibân* which wind through the plain merge in the al-Kebîr valley and conduct the run-off down to the plain of 'Edeme.

At 8.05 we crossed the *še'ib* of al-Ḥazwâniyye, which rises on the western slope of the steep white az-Zâheč ridge and merges with the al-Kebîr valley. Numerous springs flow forth west of the upper part of al-Ḥazwâniyye and irrigate the gardens of the settlement of as-Suḥne. The most important are the 'Ajn Fejjâz to the north and the 'Ajn 'Ajjâš to the south of the settlement; southeast of the latter bubbles out the 'Ajn al-Wâz'ijje. South and east of as-Suḥne there are cultivated tracts and numerous small gardens, irrigated in some places by the spring 'Ajn al-Ḥammâm, while elsewhere water is pumped out from shallow wells. The soil is marshy, and everywhere there is water a meter and a half beneath the surface. Here we saw peasants cutting millet (*dura*) in some of the fields.

In as-Suḥne there are about four hundred small houses called *ḥâne*, out of which four communities are formed. The first, Ḥârat al-Ḥabaš, the second, Ḥârat al-Marâziḥ, and the third, Ḥârat al-'Afjât, obey Mḥammad al-'Âjed. In the fourth, Ḥârat ar-Rhamât, the families of al-Mzejbel, M'îš, and Beni Šbât live, all of whom obey Aḥmad eben 'Abdal'azîz.²¹

²¹ Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 52, states that the Suḥne settlement, inhabited by Arabs, lies in the Syrian desert between Tadmur, 'Ord, and Arak, or, more correctly, between Arak and 'Ord. — And in reality as-Suḥne is situated between Arak and 'Ord, at-Ṭajjibe of today.

At the beginning of the year 1348 Ibn Battûta traveled from ar-Raḥba to as-Suḥne. He writes (*Tuhfa* [Defrémery and Sanguinetti], Vol. 4, p. 315) that as-Suḥne is a fine settlement

Mḥammad and the gendarme went to the settlement of as-Suḥne, while the rest of us rode about the gardens and at 9.28 stopped near the spring of al-Wâẓ'ijje by the foot of a small hillock near a pile of débris from an old watchtower. About an hour later a poorly clad Bedouin joined us and sat down by the fire, inquiring whether we should need a little brother or companion (*ḥâwi*). Since I was quite sure that the guide we had hired at at-Ṭajjibe was not familiar with the country which I wanted to pass through south and southwest of the as-Suḥne oasis, I had asked Mḥammad to find us another guide and therefore told the Bedouin to wait until he returned. When Mḥammad brought no one back with him, I made an agreement with the newcomer and discharged the old guide. The new guide very readily helped Mḥammad with a wether he had bought in the settlement for two *meğḍijjât* (\$1.80). The guide killed and skinned it and gave the fleece to a *fellâḥ*, who was working in a garden near by, to keep for him. My companions asked me whether they might cook their dinner near al-Wâẓ'ijje, to which I agreed; and we stayed there until one o'clock.

When it was time to go, our new guide, who had made a good meal of meat and bread and had alone drunk almost half a pot of black coffee, all at once declared that he could not accompany us and ran to the *fellâḥ* to whom he had given the fleece in safe keeping. The gendarme rode after him, but at the same moment we heard the war cry of the 'Amârât and saw eleven riders on camels galloping close to us. They surrounded us and forced our camels to kneel. But, having satisfied themselves that we were not Bedouins — as they had thought at first — but wandering traders, they let the camels go. In the meantime Mḥammad recognized one of them and called out to him by name, which brought forth apologies from all of them. Returning from an unsuccessful marauding expedition, they had taken us for booty sent to them by Allâh himself. But they did not wish to despoil wandering peddlers, who have their protectors in every tribe, especially since they are obliged to return to them anything of which their kinsmen may have robbed them. Since we did not feel sure that there had not attached themselves to this group some ordinary robbers who

inhabited chiefly by Christians and named "The Hot" (as-Suḥne) because of its hot springs, near which were built baths both for men and for women. To be able to drink the hot water, the inhabitants draw it in the evening, leave it on the flat roofs of their houses to cool overnight, and have it entirely cold in the morning. From as-Suḥne Ibn Baṭṭûta went by way of Tadmur to Damascus.

might assail us at night, without taking a guide we left as-Suḥne by the as-Sultāni road, where we met six more groups of the ʿAmârât, all of whom scrutinized us greedily.

The road runs along the foot of a long steep escarpment, Šekîf ad-Dabbâs, which stretches from northeast to southwest. It marks the northwestern edge of a plain which ascends gradually to the south with only a few isolated domes rising above it. The highest of these is called Riġm aš-Šâbûn (Soap Pile), because a great pile of stones is heaped on its summit and because in the neighborhood much ʿaẓw and šnân grow, the ashes (*kelw*) of which are used in the manufacture of soap.

At 1.50 P. M. we crossed the wide al-Kebîr valley, which comes from a deep rift between the mountains of aš-Šejḥ Wâšel on the east and those of al-Ķlêlât and Saṭîḥ on the west. It rises in the Abu Riġmên ridge south of Rî al-Hawa and east of the pass Naḵb al-Ḥmejde and runs eastward along the western edge of the fertile plains Fejẓat Fâzel and Rôzat al-Başal. Both of these plains are bounded on the north by the main ridge of Abu Riġmên and ƆotƆot, on the west by the Ɔahrat al-Bedr heights, on the south by the ridges of Saṭîḥ and al-Ɔaṭṭâr, and on the east by aẓ-Zâheĉ. At two o'clock we rode through the river bed of al-Fâres, which comes from the hillocks of al-Mĵâte and Ɔahr al-Ḥmâr to merge later with the al-Kebîr valley.

After three o'clock the road led through a gap west of the small al-Ḥlêḥle ruin, and at 3.45 on the left side of the še'ib of al-Buṭmi we entered a wide plain, shut in on the southwest by the peaked hillocks of ar-Rumâmîn and on the north by the spurs of al-Mĵâte. The še'ib of al-Buṭmi, also called al-Bustân, runs southeastward to the salt morass Sbaḥt al-Mumbaṭaḥ south of Riġm aš-Šâbûn and joins the al-Hejl valley. We noticed on its left bank the ruined shrine of al-Ɔubba. At six o'clock we had Tell al-Ɔu'ajjed on our left and crossed the channel of al-Ḥesja, which runs under the name of al-ʿObejje from the hills of al-Wa'arijjât and an-Nḥêle, winding southeast to the Želib al-Mumbaṭaḥ where it ends in a morass of the same name.

At 7.25 we finally encamped with the Ɔmuša division of the Sba'a tribe near the hamlet of Arak, or Raka (temperature: 10.2° C). Mḥammad went into a tent to beg dry camel manure and returned after a while with an armful. He was followed by the owner of the tent, who asked us to come in,

at once. To show that he was in earnest, he put out our fire twice — nay, he even pulled out the iron stakes which were to hold our kettle and was not a little angry when I, knowing that a late guest would not get supper (*zejf al-masa' mâ lah 'aša'*), declared that we would not disturb him. After a poor meal, I lay down in order to avoid being questioned and entertained, but scarcely had I covered myself, including my head, when the chief of the camp, Fejjâz âl Meşreb, came in with about ten companions. He sat down by me and began to question my men as to whence we had come and where we were going. He said that he was very sorry he could not talk to me personally and wanted them to wake me up, which, however, they refused to do. It was after midnight when he finally left. A little later some strange Arabs who were camping with the Kmuşa tried to sneak in, and twice we chased away what we took to be thieves.

Wednesday, October 28, 1908. In the morning I noticed that someone had pulled the case containing my toilet set out of my saddle bag lying beside me, but the set had been thrown away again about eight paces from the saddle bag, the thief evidently having no taste for anything of that sort. As we were loading our baggage a young man stepped up to me and asked whether we should not need a companion (*hâwi*), saying that he would very much like to ride with us. The guide that we had, an old man hired by Mḥammad, did not seem to be what I needed; therefore I nodded to Mḥammad to settle it with the young man. The old man gave up his job gladly on hearing that his relative Blejhân had something to do in al-Žerjitejn and would have to go there in any case.

We filled our water bags from the spring 'Ajn umm as-Sardak, which gushes out by the southern foot of the small hillock Tell at-Tafsîḥ, the last spur of the hilly region of ad-Dwâra. West of this hillock there flows a better spring, the Umm Şrehîḡe. Both of these springs could irrigate large gardens as well as fields, but their water now runs to waste.

ARAK TO AL-BḤARA

All of the fifteen huts of the hamlet of Arak—or, according to the Bedouins, Raka (or ar-Raka)—were deserted. The inhabitants, Tadâmre from Tudmor, had suffered much from the Bedouins camping in the neighborhood and still

more from the numerous raiding bands; therefore, as they always do under such circumstances, they had moved in a body with their supplies to Tudmor. The Turkish Government, it is true, some time in the seventies had ordered a strong barrack to be built halfway between the hamlet and the springs, with five gendarmes for a regular garrison; but this was now deserted, because the Bedouins only made fun of it. South of the hamlet we saw remains of a few old buildings.²² (Temperature at 5 P. M.: 11° C.)

Blejhân's brother went with us part of the way and begged me, in the name of his mother and himself, to be good to his dear brother. At 6.15 we were riding over a plain that rises towards the south and where hardly a pebble could be found.

On the north this plain is shut in by several mountains running out from the main ridge of Abu Riġmên, which projects above them all. North

²² Arak is often mentioned in history.

Assurbanipal's army on its ninth expedition, about 639 B. C., marched as far as Hurarîna and defeated the nomads in the desert between Jarki and Azalla (Rassam Cylinder [Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. 5, pl. 8], col. 8, l. 107; Streck, *Assurbanipal* [1916], Vol. 2, p. 72). — I identify Jarki with Arak and Hurarîna with the Ǧal'at al-Ḥurri or al-Ḥarrâr ruins, fifteen kilometers northwest of Arak.

Ptolemy, *Geography*, V, 14:19, mentions Adacha; the *Peutinger Table* (Vienna, 1888), Segm. 10, shows Harac; the inscription published in *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*, Vol. 3, Suppl. no. 6719, mentions Aracha; the *Notitia dignitatum*, Oriens 32, nos. 14, 29, gives the name Adatha; and the anonymous Ravenna geographer, *Cosmographia*, II, 15 (Pinder and Parthey's edit., p. 89), refers to Adatis. —

Ptolemy lists Adacha (misrendered from Aracha) among the Palmyrene settlements. It lay on the road built by the Emperor Diocletian and called after him Strata Diocletiana, which connected Damascus with Palmyra and the ford of Sura (Sûrija) on the Euphrates. After the new division of the province of Phoenices at the end of the fourth century, Adatha (misrendered in the *Notitia dignitatum* from Adacha, in turn misrendered from Aracha) belonged to Phoenices Secunda and was garrisoned by *equites sagittarii indigenae*.

Peters, *Nippur* (1897), Vol. 1, p. 372, publishes an inscription from a milestone, which indicates that the building of the Roman road Strata Diocletiana was in progress during the reign of the Emperor Constantine. The milestone was found about eight Roman miles from Palmyra in the direction of Arak.

The decision of the Council of Constantinople in the year 381 was signed among others by Alexander Arachensis (*var.*, Arachon) (by the proxy of the priest Timotheus), one of the bishops of the province of Phoenices (Harduin, *Conciliorum collectio* [Paris, 1715], Vol. 1, col. 815).

The resolutions of the Council of Chalcedon, 451, were ratified by Theodore, metropolitan of Damascus, in the name of his suffragan "Abraamios poleos Archæon" (*ibid.*, Vol. 2, col. 485).

The petition to the Emperor Leo to recognize the resolutions of this council was signed (*ibid.*, col. 720), among the other bishops of Phoenicia Secunda by the same "Abraamios episcopus Uranensis." — The first *n* in Uranensis is due to an original substitution of a Greek *v* for a Greek *χ*.

Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 210, writes that Arak is a small town on the borders of the Aleppo desert near Tadmur and that palm and olive trees thrive there. — By "the Aleppo desert" Jâkût must have meant the old Palmyrena, because immediately south of Arak he placed the northern edge of the desert of as-Samâwa.

Abu-l-Feda', *Muḥtaṣar* (Adler), Vol. 5, p. 246, relates that in February, 1312, Ǧara' Sonkor, the administrator of the town of Aleppo, journeying through the desert, reached the pilgrim's station of Birket Zîza. Fearing lest the Egyptian soldiers escorting the Egyptian pilgrims should arrest him in the Heġâz by order of Sultan Nâser, he returned from Zîza via Araka and Suhne to the Aleppo desert, where he and the Arab Emir Muḥanna ibn 'îsa conspired to rebel against Nâser. He then attacked Aleppo, but before he could take possession of it the Egyptian army had reached Ḥama' and, by the middle of April, had driven Ǧara' Sonkor as far back as al-Ḥammâm near az-Zerka. From there he fled to the Euphrates, where he took refuge in the camps of Emir Muḥanna ibn 'îsa. —

Both al-Ḥammâm and az-Zerka lie on the highway from Palmyra by way of Esrija to Aleppo. It is interesting to note that Abu-l-Feda' does not call the settlement Arak, but Araka, as do the Bedouins, who pronounce it either Raka or ar-Raka.

of Raka tower the high mountains of Zahrat al-Bedr and al-Raššâbijje, to the southwest of which appear the Zahrat aš-Šafra and al-Mizâr (otherwise called aš-Šejh Mammad eben 'Ali). The last-named falls steeply into the plain southwest of Tudmor. East of Zahrat al-Bedr, beyond the *še'ib* of al-Mzebbed, the ridge of Saṭîḥ stretches parallel with it, and both merge on the southeast into the rough hills of al-Wa'arijjât, which send out the narrow spur of an-Nhêle to the southeast and the crest of ad-Dawwâra to the south. Al-Mzebbed winds through the al-Wa'arijjât hills, separates ad-Dawwâra from the mountain of al-Ḥarrâr to the west, is joined on the left by the *še'ib* of Čarej'e and on the right by the *še'ibân* of Ḥâle and al-Minṣef, and disappears finally in the marsh southeast of Tudmor. At the head of the *še'ib* of al-Minṣef there are the ruins of al-Ḳaṭṭâr with a little spring; southwest of them lie the Ḳal'at al-Ḥurri ruins.²³

On the west by the ridge of al-Ḥarrâr stretches the deep *še'ib* of al-Aḥmar with its wells Bijâr al-'Ammi. This *še'ib* also disappears in the marsh of Tudmor. South of the wells rises the height Mḳâṭe'at ad-Daraġ, which falls off steeply to the southwest. Above it projects the steep scarp Marbaṭ al-Ḥṣân, the south side of which is called Târ an-Nwejser. South of the latter gapes the pass Tenijjet ad-Demûs, through which a road leads from Tudmor westward. South of the pass rises the conspicuous gray ridge of al-Kâjez, merging to the southwest into the darker ridge of Hejjâl, which skirts the plain of Tudmor on the west. To the southwest this plain extends as far as the rose-colored rocks of the hilly region of Abtar²⁴ and to the south and east as far as the heights of at-Telîle and aḡ-Zab'. Many parts of the plain might be cultivated.

As our camels were very hungry we let them rest from 9.00 to 11.30 and then made our way southward along the eastern edge of the Tudmor marsh. This marsh is covered with deep drifts of gray sand, in which grow *arṭa*, *rimt*, and 'alanda bushes. The animals' legs sank into the sand, and we were more than thankful when, at 1.30 P. M., we again trod on firmer ground. At 1.50 (temperature: 26°C) we crossed the river bed of al-Frej, which comes from the south and ends in the marsh. To the northwest, about fifteen kilometers from us, the fort Ḳal'at eben Ma'an, built on a high rock above the ruins of Palmyra, was clearly outlined on the horizon. South of the fort dark-green palms veiled the poor grayish huts of the village of Tudmor, the wretched heiress of the imposing queen city of the Palmyrene desert. It seemed as if the village were seeking shelter in the folds of the al-Mizâr ridge, to find safety from the countless attacks of raiders.

²³ Našr records (Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 228) a place called Ḥurra' in the territory of the Kalb. — As our Ḳal'at al-Ḥurri lies in the former territory of this tribe, we might identify it with Ḥurra', but in this case Jâkût should have written the last letter as a *j* and not an *alif*.

²⁴ Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 78, mentions a place called Abtar in Syria. — This might have been the ridge of Abtar.

Two Tudmor *fellâhîn* told us that only four days before their settlement had been attacked and they had lost 230 sheep and 60 pack camels, and that in spite of this they had had to regale the raiders as their most welcome guests.

The men were gathering on the plain *‘azw*, *rimt*, and *šnân* plants, which they pressed into piles about one meter high; about these piles they would lay dry *šîh*; then they would throw some earth on, set fire to the whole, and wait until the plants withered and turned to ashes (*kelw*). These ashes are sold to soap makers in Ḥama° or Aleppo and bring 250 to 300 piasters (\$ 11.25—13.50) for 260 kilograms.

Blejhân pointed out to us to the west the spring wells of aš-Šağara, al-Kṣejbe, Zebâra, and al-‘Edeje, the watering places of the camels of the Kmuṣa division of the Sba‘a tribe.

At 3.48 we halted before a small ruin at the northern foot of the low hillock Tell al-Baḥra, on the top of which a watchtower once stood. There we sketched a map of the neighborhood.

To the north we could see the Tudmor mountains all the way from al-Abjaz and aš-Šâ‘er in the west to aḡ-Zâheč in the east. To the north-west rose the reddish domes of Ṣhûr al-Ḥumr, which lie south and south-west from al-Abjaz. To the southwest stretched the mountain chain of ar-Rawâḡ, the various parts of which are called Hejjâl, al-Ġurnijje, al-Keteb, and al-Wu‘ûl. A broad valley separates this mountain chain from a lower ridge to the south, Abtar by name. At the northeastern foot of the latter are the extensive al-Bḥara ruins, south of which rise the bare rocks Ṣwêwînt al-Ḥamra; southeast of these the isolated hill Tell al-Frej marks the easiest approach from the south to al-Bḥara as well as to the lowland of Tudmor. Southeast and east of al-Frej stretch the steep escarpments of Tlejlât al-‘Eleb and al-Ġiffa, above which stands the dark red cone of al-Rurâb. The view to the east was obstructed by the mighty height of at-Telîle.

There is an abundance of water in the neighborhood of al-Bḥara, with possibilities of cultivation that must have been made use of in times long past, as the numerous remains of gardens and country houses bear witness.

AL-BḤARA TO AL-ḤAWA

Having finished our work, we went to the al-Bâzûrijje ruins, which lay about one kilometer farther south at the western foot of the hillock Tell al-Baḥra. Al-Bâzûrijje had evidently never been a settlement, but, rather, a country residence. It was built in the center of a large garden irrigated

from two wells. Solid buildings once stood near the northern well, but of these little remains. The southern well is in the court of a small square fort with a projecting gate and a huge tower. As herds of camels were being watered at the wells by singing and shouting men, we were prevented from sketching a plan. After a while some Arabs came and asked what we had for sale. When my companions told them that we were not hawkers but wished to survey the country, they began to curse the Government for sending engineers to rob them of the land inherited from their fathers. It was quite a long time before I succeeded in pacifying them. (Temperature at 5.45: 20°C.)

Tuesday, October 29, 1908. Leaving al-Bâzûrijje at 6.20 A.M. (temperature: 12°C), we went in a southwesterly direction to a rather small, partly ruined farmhouse which we had on our left at 6.38. At 7.08 we dismounted before the tent of Raṭwân eben Meršed, the head chief of the Kmuşa division of the Sba'a tribe. My policy was to become personally acquainted with the head chiefs of all the 'Aneze tribes. I wanted, if for only a short time, to visit Raṭwân. When I had entered the men's compartment of his seven-poled tent, he commanded me to sit down on a rug spread out for me opposite him. But I sat quietly beside him, remarking that a Rwejli belongs to a Sbê'i. This made Raṭwân laugh. He was pleased that I did not refer to him as a Kmâši (one of the Kmuşa) but, rather, as a Sbê'i (one of the Sba'a), because the word *kmâši* means a man with long protruding teeth and is therefore avoided by the Kmuşa. Raṭwân knew that I had attached myself to the Rwala and was therefore considered a Rwejli. The Rwala and the Kmuşa division of the Sba'a were friends of long standing and had helped each other against all their common enemies. It was his duty as a Sbê'i to support me — a Rwejli.

Raṭwân, a man of about thirty, tall, with thick black brows, black curly hair, and a pleasant face, behaved amiably, but with composure. It seemed as if he possessed no judgment of his own, because he consulted his scribe all the time. The latter had formerly been in the service of Farḥân eben Hdejb, head chief of the 'Ebede and Barġas' father, from whom he had stolen more than one hundred Turkish pounds (\$ 450). Farḥân had then confiscated all his property and chased him out. After this incident he had entered the services of Raṭwân

and was now examining me. Instead of replying to him, I handed him the letters of introduction addressed to his lord, and when the scribe asked if the Sublime Porte was informed of my journeying there, I told him to read the order of the Government addressed to all the head chiefs of the various tribes and not to bother me any longer with his questions. He then read all the documents aloud and left me in peace. After drinking a cup of tea made for me by Raṭwân's orders, I went to the ruins.

Al-Bḥara lies at the southwestern end of the Tudmor lowland on the northeastern spur of the ridge of Abtar. The fresh water in the wells, the fertile soil of the neighborhood, and the proximity of the great Roman road from Damascus to the Euphrates gave the inhabitants of al-Bḥara so many advantages that the place prospered, at least as long as it was protected by a strong Roman garrison against the attacks of the Bedouins. I could not examine the ruins very closely, as the scribe made himself one of our party and began to worry me with questions; when I did not answer, he boasted of all the things he had ever done for noble foreigners. For instance, he claimed to have accompanied the Bârûn (Oppenheim?), a lady of the French royal family, and many other exalted personages, and he said that Raṭwân did not have a good pair of binoculars and that I should put him under a great obligation by presenting him with mine. In answer to my remark that I needed the binoculars myself, he thought that I could order a pair for Raṭwân from Damascus. Seeing that the scribe's impudence would paralyze my whole activity about the camp, I returned to the tent, and, having written to my friend Ḥalîl Fattâl in Damascus to buy Raṭwân eben Meršed a pair of binoculars, I prepared to leave. My companions urged me to get another guide from Raṭwân, but when the latter saw our present guide, Blejhân, he declared that I needed no other, because I could travel all over his territory without any of his tribesmen molesting me.

During the conversation several members of the Šlejb tribe came in and, on hearing that Tûmân was a Franġi, wanted to befriend him. They claimed relationship to the Franks, who had left them behind in the desert when they emigrated from Arabia to Europe. Also they wished me to induce Raṭwân and an-Nûri eben Ša'lân to compensate them for some goats which the kinsmen of these chiefs had killed

and eaten. Some of the Šlejḅ wore long skirt-like robes made of gazelle skins. Strange to say they were all dressed cleanly, if poorly, and evidently washed much oftener than Raṭwân and his Bedouins.

The Kmuša belong to the Sba'a tribe of the 'Aneze group. According to the Rwaḷa their name is derived from their long teeth. They live in about twelve hundred tents, obey the head chief Raṭwân, and are divided into three subdivisions:

	al-'Amîra	
	ar-Rasâlin	
	al-Meşârbe.	
Clans of the 'Amîra:	al-Bṭejnât	(chief: Raṭwân eben Meršed)
	ar-Rḥama	(„ Barṛâš eben Sa'ajjed)
	al-Ḥamsân	(„ Hâjes eben Šelhûḅ)
	as-Šejm	(„ Fellâġ eben Štêwi)
	al-Mwâhib	(„ 'Abbûd eben Rašem).
Clans of the Rasâlin:	Âl Ġâsem	(„ Râṭi eben Nawwâḵ)
	Âl 'Aġlân	(„ Mḥammad eben 'Îde)
	Âl Hwejšân	(„ Šîrân eben Maṭra).

The Meşârbe form one unit only; their chief is Fejjâz âl Meşreb.

The recognized leader of the Kmuša in war is Bešîr eben Meršed, a half-brother to Chief Raṭwân by his father.

After a meal of boiled rice soaked in melted butter, we left al-Bḥara at 10.30 and rode westward to the Ġebb as-Sikkerijje well (otherwise known as al-Hazîm), which we reached at 10.52. The well was dug in the yard of some gentleman's residence northwest of a strong tower. Southwest of al-Bḥara there is a similar country seat called al-Bḥêra.

Without making a stop, we rode along through the broad valley of al-Ḥallâbât, which separates the ridge of Abtar from the mountain chain of ar-Rawâḵ. Far to the west-southwest were seen the Ḥân (or Kaşr) al-Ḥallâbât ruins. According to Blejhân's explanation, this name was given the ruins because of old the women from al-Bḥara used to come there every day to milk the goats and sheep grazing in the neighborhood. Consequently it is called "the Castle of Milking Women." In this sense people often explain to themselves the names of old buildings, about the origins of which they are ignorant. On the road we met about twenty camels carrying the tents and smaller property of a migrating family of the Sba'a. Every now and then both to the right and left we saw the remains of old graves, garden walls, and even dams.

These dams became especially numerous just before al-Ḥallâbât was reached at 1.25 P.M. (temperature: 24.3°C). Since

the neighborhood did not have a good reputation for safety, we meant to stay near the fort only long enough to sketch a plan of it; therefore I ordered my men to make coffee while I began work at once with Tûmân.

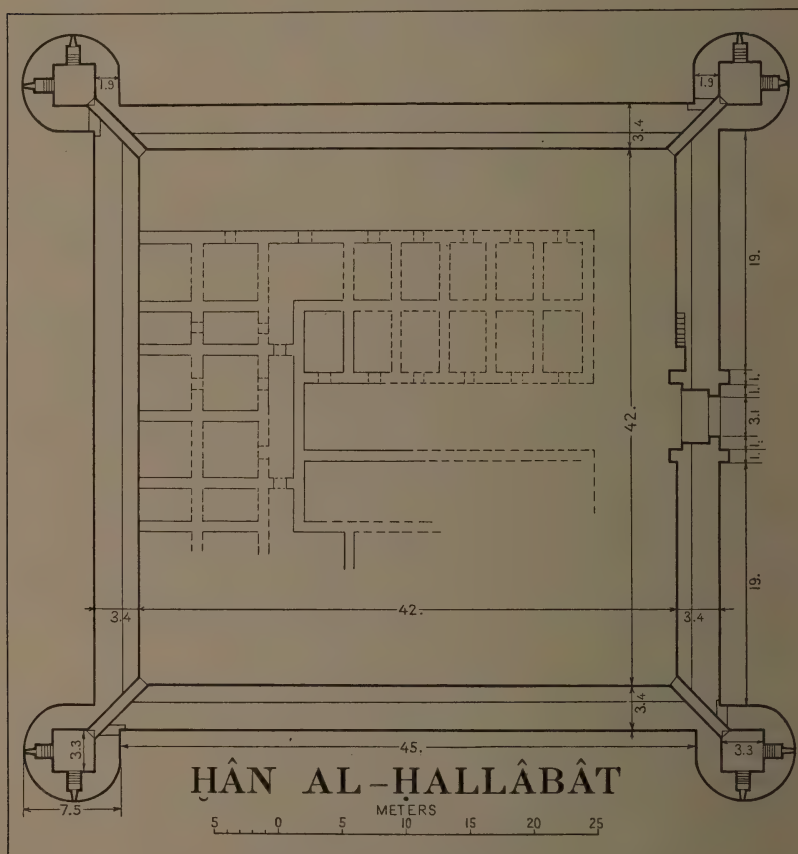


FIG. 25—Hân al-Hallâbât, plan.

Hân al-Hallâbât forms a square 49 meters on each side with mighty, rounded towers at each corner (see Fig. 25). In the center of the eastern wall is a gate 3.1 meters wide leading into a court in the middle of which lies a heap of débris from several ruined chambers. By the north side of the gate a stairway leads up to the rampart 3.4 meters wide. In each tower is a square room with two stairways giving ac-

cess to the loopholes. After the soldiers had gone, the inside of the fort had evidently been made to house peaceful inhabitants, possibly monks.²⁵

The plan finished, we sketched a map of the vicinity and then began to look for old inscriptions. At this moment I sighted several horsemen far down the valley west of the castle. Thinking that they belonged to the migrating clan we had met that morning, I did not pay much attention to them, but when I noticed four separating themselves from the rest and galloping over to us, I ran with Tûmân to warn our companions, who were concealed by the eastern wall and could not see them. Blejhân knew them as attackers at once, started after the camels, and drove them towards us. In the meantime the strangers were already close to the castle and headed directly for our party; two of them pointed their rifles at us; the other two held their spears ready to throw. Another four surrounded us at the same time from the north; two threw themselves at our camels; and the rest, reinforced by two more, seized our water bags, quenched their thirst, and watered their horses. The thirsty mares trod all over our baggage and when I tried to drive them away with a club, two of the band took hold of my hands, laughing derisively. Blejhân and Mḥammad came to my aid, snatching the water bags away from the strangers; but the gendarme hid his gun and with the coffeepot in his hand waited on the attackers unblushingly, calling them “*efendijje*”; ‘Abdallâh ordered Mḥammad in a loud and angry tone to prepare dinner for our esteemed guests. This order evidently pleased the men who were still holding me, for one of them let me loose and went with ‘Abdallâh to our baggage, from which he helped himself to rice, *burrul*, and tea. At that moment two more riders appeared on the scene.

One of them, who was the commander (‘*aẓîd*) of the band, Blejhân recognized as Met‘eb, son of Fahad eben Haddâl, the head chief of the ‘Amârât. When he approached me I said reproachfully to him:

²⁵ Hân al-Hallâbât is the Roman station of Heliaramia (*Peutinger Table* [Vienna, 1888], Segm. 10). Perhaps no soldiers were there in the Byzantine era, and later it became a monastery.

Wright, *Catalogue* (1870–1872), p. 713, col. 2, records the following Monophysite settlements in the ecclesiastical province of Arabia: ‘Awejra, Ġubejl, Ḥadîta, Helioram, Ġejġil, ‘Awkaba, ‘Afa’ and (*ibid.*, p. 714, col. 1) the monastery of ‘Enûn. — Helioram is undoubtedly identical with the Roman post of Heliaramia, southwest of Palmyra; the monastery of ‘Enûn with ‘Anên, southeast of Palmyra; ‘Awejra, probably with al-Bârde; and Ġejġil with Hân Ġnejġel, northeast of Ġerûd on the road to Palmyra. (See also Lamy, *Profession* [1898], p. 133, nos. 116 and 119.)

"Look, Met'eb, how thy friends are treated by thy men."

He made no reply whatever, but sat down by our fire and commanded Mḥammad to prepare a good dinner for him and his men. Then he invited me to take a place beside him. When I declined with the remark:

"I cannot sit with a friend who treats me as an enemy," he replied:

"Since when am I thy friend?"

"Since the time thy friends gave me letters of introduction to thee and when I myself wrapped up the presents intended for thee and thy father!"

"Show me those letters!"

"I will, but only in the tent of thy father, who shall know how thou hast treated me!"

My words did not fail in the result desired. Met'eb rose, sat down by me, and begged to be forgiven for the way he had acted. At his command his men helped to load our baggage, the kettle in which our husked wheat (*burrul*) was merrily boiling was taken down, and the flour just ready for making bread was returned to the sack, so that by 2.52 we could continue on our way again. Met'eb offered me his friendship and his hand; but I refused to give him mine, saying that I would do so only in his or his father's tent.

We had been on the march about half an hour when Met'eb overtook us and again offered his hand, begging forgiveness. Then I gave him mine and sent greetings to his father. The young man now told me that he had set out at the head of about four hundred riders on camels and thirty on horseback against the Rwala; but the Rwala's herdsmen sighted them and so alarmed the neighboring camps that nothing was left for him to do but to save himself by flight. His camel riders and some horsemen escaped by way of al-Žerjitejn and Tudmor, while he and about a dozen riders went home by way of al-Baṣīri and al-Bhara.

At 4.15 we reached the ruined well Želib al-Hawa, north of which lies the demolished Hân al-Hwênîže. Northeast of the latter, through the *še'ib* of as-Sihle and the defile Rî' al-Hawa between al-Ġurnijje to the west and as-Seklâwijje to the east, there leads an easy road to the spring of al-'Edejje and to Tudmor. Another road heads northwesterly to the Kāl'at al-Bêza fort through the saddle between al-Ġurnijje and al-

Keteb, running thence alongside the *še'ib* of ar-Raml, which disappears in the ad-Daw lowland.

AL-ĤAWA TO AL-BÂRDE

South of the *Želīb* al-Ĥawa I noticed the first Roman mile-stones, but most of them were broken and crumbled, thus making the reading of even a single letter absolutely impossible. From five to six o'clock we rested and then rode on in the same direction, not desiring to sleep where we had lighted our last fire. But in a little while a heavy cold rain began to beat across our faces. For more than half an hour we and our animals struggled against the rain and wind with all our strength; then suddenly our camels turned their faces to the east, knelt down, and could not be made to rise again. Unloading the baggage and covering it as best we could, we, too, sought protection from the rain. I sat down beside my camel and the baggage with my back to the wind and wrapped my cloak tight about me; but the wind kept raising it and the rain sent one trickle after another down my back. After an hour the rain ceased a little, which gave me a chance to get a blanket out of the baggage, stretch it on the wet ground, pick up some large stones, and lie down, covering myself with my cloak, the edges of which I weighted down with stones lest it be blown away by the wind. Just then it started to rain heavily again. The blanket on which I was lying got wet, the night was cold, and the morning star would not show itself. My companions wrapped themselves up in their clothes, wool coats, and blankets, pulled their knees almost to their faces, and seemed not to mind the bad weather at all. But the gendarme pressed closely to me, making my head ache with his lamentations and complaints. The second watch fell to Mḥammad's lot and the third to Blejhân, but both of them declared that in a dark rainy night like this, no thief or robber would venture out and to guard our baggage or camels would therefore be unnecessary. The gendarme, however, was concerned about his horse, which had no iron fetters, and feared that any marauder, from what he knew of that gentry, would take a horse before anything else. I advised him to consult his good friend and ally 'Abdallâh, who surely would keep awake with him; but 'Abdallâh declared that he had not known

the gendarme up to a month ago, that in two days he would forget all about him anyway, and that if he were afraid for his horse he should watch it himself. Having thus relieved his mind, 'Abdallâh crawled back into his covers again and did not stir until morning.

Friday, October 30, 1908. At five o'clock we started toward the southwest. The sky was dark, but the clouds were breaking, and here and there a star appeared. From 5.18 to 6.34 (temperature: 15° C) we let our camels pasture on the abundant *rûte* in the neighborhood, while we warmed up the coffee. After a while we sighted on the south side of the valley about sixty camels laden with the tents and furniture of the Hamsân clan of the Kmuşa division. Soon after, an elderly man seated on a she-camel came over to us and asked where we had come from, of what tribe we were, and where this and that clan were camping. At 7.43 A. M. Blejhân showed me a place to the north where the spring 'Ajn al-Ḳaṭṭâr lies on the eastern slope of the ridge of al-Wu'ûl. There is another spring called al-Wu'ûl southwest of al-Ḳaṭṭâr. The deep rift Tenijjet al-Wa'are separates the ridge from al-Keteb to the east. North of the rift begins the *še'ib* of Mûsa Âra, which ends northeast of the aṭ-Ṭwâle ruins and well (also called an-Nâjfe). At the entrance to Tenijjet al-Wa'are there lies, east of 'Ajn al-Ḳaṭṭâr, the small fortress of al-Ḳaṭṭâr, which I did not see, since it was hidden in the fog and Blejhân did not call my attention to it in time.

To shorten our way, we left the Roman road which leads through the valley to the al-Baṣîri ruins and went across the pass between the al-Ḥlejjel and an-Nekneḳijje ridges in a westerly direction.

To the south the Abtar ridge sinks gradually to the flat hillocks of al-Maḳṭa'a, southeast of which appear the gray rocks Şwêwint aş-Şhaba, connected on the west with the broad black crest of 'Âde. This ends in a cluster of scattered crags not unlike a black castle, which is called Ḳal'at Tejr. West of the crags projects the mighty black pyramid of ar-Rmâḥ with its two terraces, partly concealing the bluish rocks of the low tabular hill of Khejle. Northwest of ar-Rmâḥ glisten the dark blue mountains of Kehle, with the higher Raṭṭûs to the north of them, and, still farther, al-Bârde. To the north was seen the Ḳaşr al-Ḥêr al-Ṙarbi ruin on the as-Sultâni road, which runs from al-Žerjitejn to Tudmor. The lowland of ad-Daw, which this road cuts through, is shut in to the north of al-Ḥêr by the white escarpment Ṭâr ar-Rhejmi and by the white heights of at-Tjâs as well as by the low hillocks Zuml Emhâr, al-Ḥadîdijje, and Râs al-Medrûr, which cluster in front of the southern spur of the high ridge of al-Abjaz.

At ten o'clock, leading our camels by the reins, we reached the western foot of the ridge, crossed the road to the spring 'Ajn al-Wu'ûl, and went through the basin to the isolated hillock Tell al-Akṭa, which rises east of the spring wells of al-Bârde. Around the water were about two hundred tents, through which I should have had to ride had I wanted to visit the dam of al-Ḥarbaḳa. From the camp several men came towards us and invited us to enter their tents as their guests. Since our baggage was soaking wet and every one of us dead tired, we turned west and encamped at 11.38 (temperature: 23.5° C) at the foot of the mountain of al-Bârde, which rises on the left side of the valley of the same name about a kilometer and a half south of the wells. The gendarme with Blejhân went to the wells, the former to water his horse, the latter to get water for us. Having unloaded the baggage, we spread out the blankets, hung our clothes on the *'alanda* bushes to dry, and began to sketch a plan of the vicinity. This done, Tûmân and I lay down for a short rest, but just then the gendarme brought to us Chief Fellâğ eben Štêwi with six of his friends, who bothered me a long time, trying to persuade me to come as their guest to their tent and in the meantime drinking up all our coffee.

CHAPTER VI

AL-BÂRDE TO DMEJR AL-‘ATÎŽE BY WAY OF AL-ŽERJITEJN AND HÂN ‘ANEJBE

AL-BÂRDE TO AL-ŽERJITEJN

At 2.05 we left in the direction of the gap *Tenijjet az-Zerka*, which separates the ridge of al-Bârde from that of *Raṭṭûs*. On the way to the pass we found a small cluster of yellow flowers which resembled the tulips of Europe and which *Blejhân* called *‘asansal*. Leading our camels all the way, we reached the summit of the pass in about twenty minutes and there sighted to the south-southeast at about six kilometers from us a few tents of the *Fwâ’re*, camping by the al-Bašîri wells. The Roman road branches off from the al-Bašîri wells through the *Tenijjet al-‘Alêžijje* rift to the southwest. Another road leads from these ruins north through the valley of al-*Qanṭara* to the al-Bârde wells and farther on to *Qašr al-Hêr al-Ṛarbi*; and a third road goes west through the al-*Ḥarâmiijje* and al-*Mâšijje* passes to al-Žerjitejn. These two passes separate the mountain of *Kehle* from the long ridge of an-*Nuṣrâni*, which is grown over partly with groves of terebinth trees.

Far to the west in the desolate white plain our eyes were refreshed by the sight of the dark green gardens of the al-Žerjitejn settlement, where we wished to spend the night; we therefore urged on our tired animals to greater speed. The descent from the pass was much more difficult than the ascent because the path leads over and among big boulders, where our camels could move only with the utmost care and very slowly. On reaching the foot of the ridge we were overtaken by two riders going from the *Fwâ’re* camp near al-Bašîri to visit their relatives, who were camping in the *še‘îb* of al-*Abṭaḥ*. Recognizing us as the travelers guided a short time ago by their kinsman *Ramzûn*, they inquired what clans we had met on the road and what experiences we had had thus far.

From 4.28 to 6.45, letting our camels graze at the western foot of the al-Bârde mountain in a shallow valley in the un-

dulating region of al-Ḥaẓerijjât, we sketched a map of the surrounding country. After supper we passed through the rolling plain to the west to the lowland Rôẓat al-Mizraʿa, where the camp fires of the Fwâʿre were then burning. At first it seemed that the flames were white, visible one minute, out of sight the next. Not until an hour later, when we had crossed the Abu Tîne valley, which rises at the Tenijjet al-Ḥufejjer pass, did the fire assume its normal red color. It could plainly be seen to rise, flare up, and then die down again. We also began to hear dogs, then human voices and the wailing of the she-camels caring for their young; and at last we halted before the camp itself, where we lay down at eight o'clock and had a good night's rest.

Saturday, October 31, 1908. The sky was clouded and the air was moist when we resumed our trip at 5.08 the next morning (temperature: 8° C). The Fwâʿre drove their sheep to pasture—or, rather, led them; for every herdsman sat on a donkey, his dog trotting beside him; then came a ewe with a bell hung around her neck, and in her wake the rest of the flock, long rows of them in single file with heads bent down. The lowland of al-Mizraʿa, which we were passing, might be cultivated very profitably.

We let our camels graze from 6.22 to 6.40, after which we headed for the gardens of al-Žerjitejn. We should have liked to go around them in the direction of the Umm al-Ḳelâjed spring and to encamp northeast of the settlement on the very spot where we had stayed at the time of our first visit (see above, pp. 35f.), but the gendarme declared that we should have to go too far out of our way and that he would lead us straight through the gardens. As he had been stationed at al-Žerjitejn, we took his word for it; but no sooner were we between the high garden walls built of dry marl than he did not know which way to turn. Our camels shied and made us fear for our instruments, which might easily have been damaged if rubbed against the walls. Nothing was left for us to do but face about and lead our animals by the reins; hence we did not reach the northern edge of the settlement until 9.42, when we finally pitched our camp.²⁶

²⁶ The poet al-Aḥṭal, *Diwân* (Salhani), p. 86, mentions al-Ḳarjatân (the modern al-Žerjitejn).

The caliph al-Walid ibn ʿAbdalmalek once listened at the al-Ḳarjatân settlement to a quarrel between two men, one of the Kalb tribe, and the other of the Ḳejs tribe. The Kalbi was standing in a pond and challenged all present to a wrestling match. The Ḳeisi took up his challenge, but got a ducking and could save himself only by great efforts. He was thus humiliated, with nobody willing to help him. At that very moment another burly

AL-ŽERJITEJN TO ḤÂN ʿANEJBE

Al-Žerjitejn is divided into four Moslem and two Christian precincts. The Moslem precincts, Ḥârat aš-Šerķijjîn, Ḥârat al-Rarbijjîn, Ḥârat al-Bâlûʿa, and Ḥârat al-Waṣṭa, number about six hundred huts, peopled exclusively by Moslems. Ḥârat as-Sûrijjân and Ḥârat al-Kâtûlik, with about two hundred houses, belong to the Christians. The Sûrijjân (Syrian orthodox Christians) have two priests, Ğebrâjil and Hârûn; the Kâtûlik (Syrian Catholics) only one, Philip. The head chief of the whole settlement is Aḥmad eben Fejjâz.

To save themselves from robberies, the people of al-Žerjitejn have protectors in the several tribes of the desert, who are obliged to return to them everything of which their kinsmen have robbed them. For this such protectors get an annual tribute called *ḥûwa*, as follows.

In the Rwala	Eben Meʿġel	gets 30	<i>meġidijjât</i>	(\$27)
" " "	Eben Rowzân	" 40	"	(\$36)
" " Weld ʿAli	Âl Ḥalîl	" 30	"	(\$27)
" " Hsene	ar-Raffâše	" 20	"	(\$18)
" " Rijât	Ahl Fellâḥ	" 20	"	(\$18)
" " Sbaʿa	Eben Saʿdân	" 16	"	(\$14.40)
" " Fedʿân	Eben Nubejhân	" 20	"	(\$18).
One of the ʿAmârât chiefs		" 30	"	(\$27).

As long as Fejjâz eben Daʿâs was living, nobody dared to ask the inhabitants of al-Žerjitejn, who are commonly

Ḳejsi arrived in al-Ḳarjatân on his camel, and scarcely had he dismounted when the caliph al-Walid ordered him to challenge the victor. The newcomer hesitated at first, fearing that he would have to pay the customary blood price; but when the victorious Kalbi yielded his claim for the blood money, the Ḳejsi engaged him in a struggle, which ended by the Ḳejsi's holding his opponent's head under the water until he was dead. The caliph was much displeased with this. (Abu-l-Faraġ, *Aṣṣâni* [Bûlâk, 1285 A.H.], Vol. 12, pp. 32f.)

At the beginning of February, 1071, some bands of the Turkoman army, then besieging Aleppo for the caliph al-Ḳâjim, passed through the desert to seize al-Ḳarjatân, which, as well as the country thereabouts, they thoroughly plundered (Ibn Taḡri Birdî, *Nuġûm* [Popper], Vol. 2, p. 245; Ibn al-Ḳalânisi, *Daġl* [Amedroz], p. 100).

In October, 1104, Emir Sukmân, leader of the Seljuks of Mardin, who ravaged the surroundings of Damascus, died at al-Ḳarjatân and was buried at Ḥiṣn Kifa near Mardin (Ibn al-Aṭîr, *Kâmil* [Tornberg], Vol. 10, p. 268; Ibn al-Ḳalânisi, *op. cit.*, p. 147).

In 1199 al-Malek az-Zâher, son of Saladin, came with only a small retinue to the vicinity of the town of Ṣarḥad and from there went through the desert of as-Samâwa to Tadmur. The baggage-laden mules followed him to al-Ḳarjatân. During the next rainy season he camped with his army in the Merġ as-Ṣuffar and Râs al-Maʿ, after which he marched by way of al-Ḳarjatân to Aleppo. (Kemâladdin, *Taʿrîḥ* [Blochet's transl.], *Rev. d'or. lat.*, Vol. 4, p. 220; al-Makrizi, *Sulûk* [Blochet's transl.], *Rev. d'or. lat.*, Vol. 9, p. 107; Abu-l-Fedaʿ, *Muḥṭasar* [Adler], Vol. 4, p. 180.)

Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 77; Vol. 2, p. 355, and Abu-l-Fadâ'il, *Marâsid* (Juynboll), Vol. 2, pp. 406f., write that al-Ḳarjatân is a large settlement inhabited only by Christians on the desert road from Ḥoms to Suḥne and Arak. According to Abu Ḥudejfa (as cited by Jâkût) Ḥâled marched out of Tadmur to the settlement called al-Ḳarjatân, or otherwise Huwwârîn, two days distant from Tadmur. — Al-Ḳarjatân, however, was not situated on the road from Ḥoms to Arak and Suḥne, as the direct road between these places ran north of it. Al-Ḳarjatân also was quite different from Huwwârîn, a settlement lying twenty kilometers to the northeast, and it is indeed remarkable that Jâkût failed to point out the difference between them.

called al-Karâwne, to pay the *hûwa*. But he died in 1903 and, as his sons are weak and afraid of everybody, they have to buy protection from strangers.

Having paid a visit to the *kassîs* Philip, I told the servant I had hired there to follow me to our camp. Asking for eight napoleons (\$ 30.40) in advance, he promised to bring his clothes and to be with us before noon; but in the afternoon a messenger came with the report that my man was afraid and that he did not know whether he would go with us or not. This meant that his friends, having found out that I had come to take him with me and begrudging him the good wages he was about to get, were trying to scare him away in the hope of entering my service themselves. ‘Abdallâh eben Hûri in particular, the son of the late parish priest Ibrâhîm, was spreading rumors throughout the settlement that anyone going out with me and the Rwala would put himself in the greatest danger. And after that ‘Abdallâh was impudent enough to offer me his own services, adding by way of explanation that he had accompanied a number of consuls to Palmyra, had more than fifty letters of recommendation, knew what every traveler wanted, and that I could hardly find so reliable and experienced a servant as he. But, having no success in this, he begged the *kassîs* Philip to plead for him, so that I would hire no one but him, ‘Abdallâh. Since even this did not help, he brought to me the chief of the settlement, Aḥmad eben Fejjâz Agha, who declared that there was only one man between Damascus and the Euphrates whom he could vouch for, that his name was ‘Abdallâh eben Hûri, and that he warmly recommended him; then he said that all he asked for his exertions in this matter would be a rifle, Tûmân’s carbine. When Aḥmad eben Fejjâz Agha also failed to convince me, I was visited by about twenty other men, all offering me their services; but I stated over and over again that I wanted only the one with whom I had made the agreement. For him I waited until one o’clock that afternoon, when he sent the prepayment back with the excuse that he would not accompany me because he really could not. Then, when I was ready to leave, a new messenger came, announcing that the brother of the man whom I had hired would like to go with me on the same terms; because I liked his looks, I accepted him. I had, however, to wait for him until 4.22, when he finally came with his mother and several relatives.

At five o'clock we stopped at the spring 'Ajn umm al-Ḳelâjed where we planned to spend the night. Telling Mḥammad to show the new servant how to prepare our supper, I went to the al-Ḥoṣn ruins. The building material, huge stone blocks, was covered with variously executed ornaments and therefore must have been taken from other ruined buildings. Use had also been made of it in building a small fortress, the vaults of which were in a good state of preservation.

Returning to the camp, I found the new servant working hard. Soon after, his brother came with two strangers who were buying horses from the Bedouins then watering their herds at the spring. Having bidden a farewell to his brother, who turned to go back to the settlement again, our new servant suddenly leaped on the baggage pile, took out from a bag his bundle of clothes, and called to me, saying that I was not to be angry with him, that he could not leave his mother, and that he would return the prepayment directly. Then he ran after his brother.

Mḥammad, having forgotten the tea he had bought as well as the raisins for which al-Žerjitejn is widely famed, went back for them with 'Abdallâh to the settlement, so that only Blejhân and I remained by the fire. To my question whether he too had now to return to his relatives, Blejhân replied that he would stay with me as long as I wished him to and that he would serve me conscientiously if I would only "rid him of coffee and bread," meaning I should not ask him to prepare our meals, since he did not understand that kind of work.

At that moment I heard the war cry of the Ešâġe'a and saw ourselves surrounded by eight armed herdsman, who believed us to be camel thieves. We were encamped in a small basin between low limestone hillocks, and neither we nor our fire could be seen except from very near. Having satisfied themselves of our peacefulness, they left again, with the exception of one, who sat down beside Blejhân who was just then about to finish making our coffee. Fifteen minutes later Blejhân brought the empty coffeepot to me with the words:

"There, thou seest that the Ešâġe'a are not Sba'a. The Sba'a have sense, but the Ešâġe'a are insatiable like a bottomless bucket."

"Why didst thou give it to him?"

"He helped himself."

“Then why didst thou not tell me before?”

“Because Allâh has ordered that all our coffee be drunk by an Ešâğē‘i today.”

This opened my eyes to the fact that Bhejhân would not be able to defend my provisions either against my always hungry servants, Farağ and ‘Abdallâh, or against their guests. A sensible and fearless man Blejhân certainly was, but at the same time very open-handed. The only thing left for me to do was to look for a servant of mature age and without generous notions; one who out of sheer greediness and antipathy to the Bedouins would know how to protect my provisions against them. Such an older servant would have to cook, whereas Blejhân would take care of our camels, saddles, and water.

Mḥammad reported to me on his return that the *kassîs* had found a new servant for us, a much better and more reliable one than either of the former two. He said that he would have offered him to me the day before, if he had not been away from the settlement, returning only towards evening. This aspirant for our service was said to be a camel driver named Nâşer, who, with the help of his beast, acted as a sort of carrier between the settlements. He knew the roads, was accustomed to exposure, and could be away from his family for several months if necessary. This proposition appealing to me, I told Mḥammad to start for the settlement before sunrise and bring the man back with him. We had to watch our baggage all night to prevent the herdsmen frequenting the watering place from stealing anything.

Sunday, November 1, 1908. At four o’clock I woke Mḥammad, reminding him not to stay in the settlement too long but to return as soon as possible. Two or three hours had passed, however, before he came with the report that Nâşer had left after midnight for the spring to buy a camel, which he wanted to kill, cut in pieces, and sell in the settlement. His brother went to look for him, saying that he would soon be with us. Before long the brother came, but without Nâşer, who he said had returned home by another road. All that I could do now was to send Mḥammad to the settlement again. This time it took two hours before he brought the expected guide. Nâşer asked for six napoleons (\$ 22.80) in advance and wanted us to start out at once.

By ten o’clock we broke camp, rode around the Turkish

barracks, which had been built in the eighteen-seventies but were now deserted, and made our way along the foot of the hillock Tell al-ʿAjn. This hillock is about ten meters in height and on it once stood the fortifications of the old town; the foundation walls were still visible here and there. Many of the blocks used in building the walls were 2.60 meters long, 90 centimeters wide, and 60 centimeters thick. To the south-west, under the hillock, there bubbles out the large spring of Umm al-Ḳelâjed, the water of which irrigates the gardens and fields; the farmers just then were industriously plowing and sowing. On the north of the Rîʿ aš-Šâm gap, through which runs the as-Sultâni road, projects the butte Munṭâr al-Radîr, and south of the gap stretches the long hillock al-Ġbejl. At 10.20 P.M. we crossed the *šeʿib* of al-Faḥel and then, riding between the limestone domes of ar-Rûs, reached the junction of the two branches of the *šeʿib* of al-Jeḥmûn. The western branch gathers the run-off between the hills of al-Mzejble, Rûs aṭ-Ṭwâl, al-ʿEnejž, and aš-Šawwâne; the southern gathers that from between the mountains of an-Nuṣrâni, aš-Šejḥ, and ad-Delle. The combined *šeʿibân* of al-Jeḥmûn and al-Faḥel form the *šeʿib* of al-Abṭaḥ, which receives on the right the at-Tîne gully and ends in the low plain of Arṣ al-Ḳâmû. At 12.12 we reached the black hill of al-ʿAbd, made a little turn eastward, and went on over the plain to the pass Tenijjet ad-Delle, situated between the ranges of al-Buṭmi and an-Nuṣrâni. From the summit of the pass we sighted on the south the Ḥân ʿAnejbe, which we reached at 1.38 and where we stayed until 4.46 (temperature: 15°C).

ḤÂN ʿANEJBE TO DMEJR AL-ʿATÎZE

The Ḥân ʿAnejbe lies on the southern foot of the an-Nuṣrâni range. On a high hill north of it stands a ruined watchtower. The *ḥân* is a ruined fort the interior dimensions of which are 44 meters long from south to north by 35 meters wide (Figs. 26, 27); the walls are 2 meters thick. At the corners, square towers, the outer sides of which are each 9 meters in length, project 6.5 meters beyond the walls. In the center of the south side the wall is additionally strengthened by a buttress which projects 6.5 meters beyond the wall and is 14 meters long on the outside. A gate 2.7 meters wide in the middle of the east side leads into a court divided into six

parts by low walls. North of the gate a stairway leads up to the ramparts. The towers on the east side have five loopholes, the other towers four each. The door in the northern wall opens upon two reservoirs, one of which on the inside is 35 meters long from east to west by 11.8 meters wide, while the second is 12.6 meters long from north to south by 11.6 meters wide and extends northward along a ditch in a projection 2.3 meters wide by 20.8 meters long. Into these the rain water used to flow from several gullies.

The gap *Tenijjet al-‘Alêzîjje*, which opens to the north, is a favorite thoroughfare for marauding bands; therefore Blejhân warned me not to spend the night near the *hân*, but to go farther southwest. Thick clouds began to envelop the mountains of *Keḥle* and *ar-Rmâḥ*, making a never-to-be-forgotten picture. These clouds seemed to come down from the skies as if to draw a curtain over the two mountains. Gigantic sluggish masses of vapor rolled up and down the hill-sides. The sky to the east was very black, while to the west it glowed in the setting sun as if colored with blood. And down *ar-Rmâḥ* thick columns of smoke seemed to be tumbling eastwards. Riding as fast as we could in a southerly direction, at 5.32 we reached the camp of the ‘*Abdelle* clan of the *Rwala* tribe, near which we lay down to sleep.

Monday, November 2, 1908. At 5.10 A. M. we were on our way again and from 6.08 to 6.42 we rested about one kilometer from the *Ḥân al-Manḵûra*. South of here spreads an almost level plain, partly covered with basalt and intersected by the numerous wide valleys of *al-Buṭmijjât*. The largest of these runs out of the *Tenijjet al-‘Alêzîjje*, the rest coming from the southern slopes of the *an-Nuṣrâni*, *al-Buṭmi*, *Ḥejmûr*, *Ma‘râz al-Ḳrejže*, and *az-Zbejdi* mountains, which shut in the plain on the north. East of *al-Buṭmijjât* and the long height *Ṭaraḵ abu Dâlje* the valleys are called *al-Bowljijât*; and still farther east, *aṣ-Ṣerijjât*. All these *še‘ibân* trend toward the *Tel‘et as-Sâ‘i*, which carries the run-off west to the rain ponds *Ḥabâri Sejḵal*. Scattered all over the region of *al-Buṭmijjât* are isolated terebinth trees. The entire plain is sparsely covered with various perennials, on which the herds of camels of some *Rwala* clans were then grazing. Their watering place was the springs near *al-Žerjitejn*.

The Roman road we now took runs along the foot of the border range of *ar-Rawâḵ*. At seven o'clock we passed a ruined

watchtower and a large camp of the Weld 'Ali. Half covered by fog banks (*kubejs*), the tents resembled some giant monsters

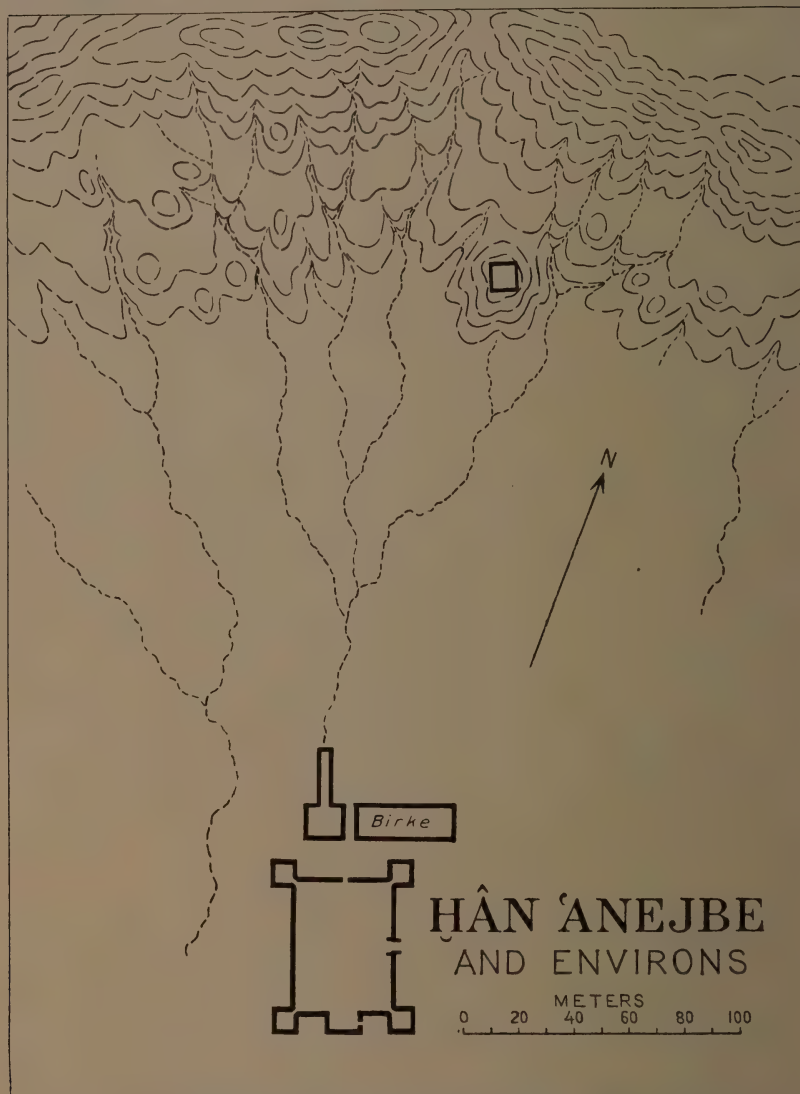


FIG. 26—Hân 'Anejbe and environs, plan.

of bizarre shapes. The camels appeared to be swimming in the mist and parting it with their necks. Here and there projected the head of a herdsman or an unreal-looking rider

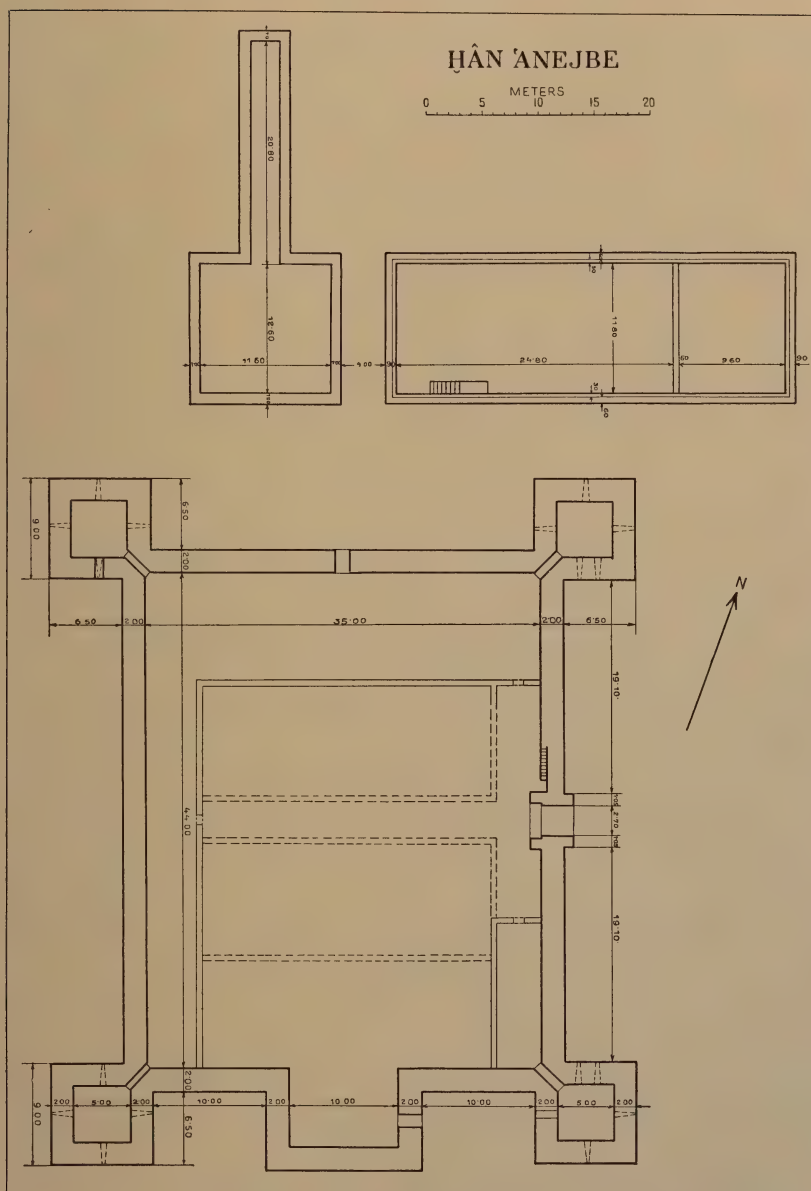


FIG. 27—Hân 'Anejbe, plan.

on a camel; and with each shifting of the wind these pictures changed. At 7.58 we sighted on our right three broken mile-stones and at 8.11 two more. At 8.50 we passed a watchtower on our right, at nine o'clock a milestone on our left, at 9.15

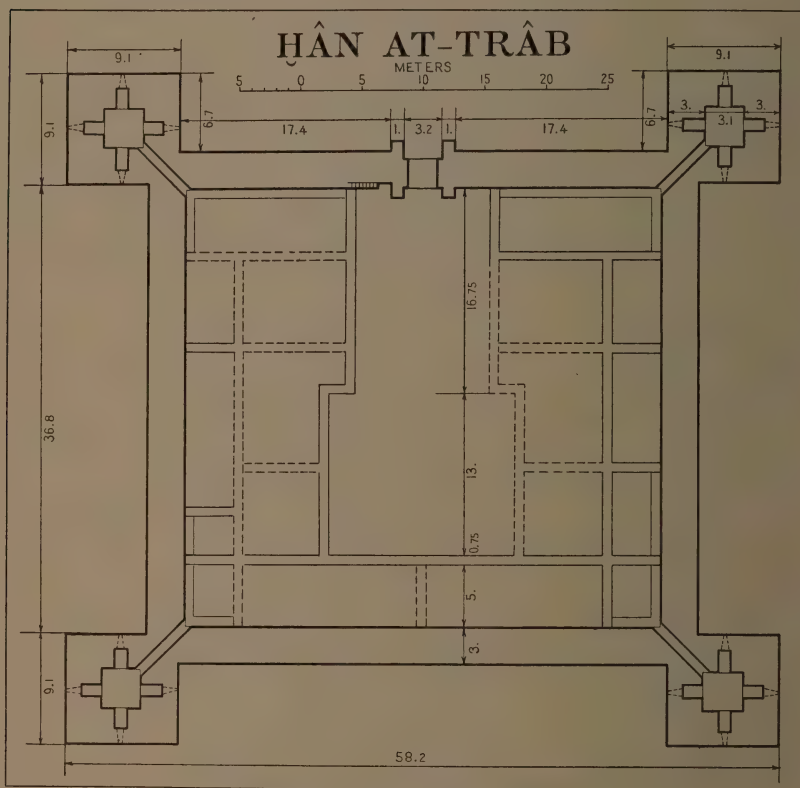


FIG. 28—Hân at-Trâb, plan.

another one, at 9.50 a watchtower, at 10.28 a milestone numbered VI, and from 10.52 to 12.56 we sketched a plan of the ruins of the Hân at-Trâb.

The Hân at-Trâb was built of soft stone, now almost wholly crumbled and fallen to pieces. The walls have disappeared, but the plan is still distinct (Fig. 28), forming a rectangle 44.8 meters long from east to west by 41.5 meters wide, with a mighty square tower in each corner. In the middle of the north side is a gate. The court is divided by thinner walls

into many spaces of various sizes. West of the gate are traces of a staircase to the rampart, which was three meters wide. In each tower there are four loopholes.

The Ḥân at-Trâb stands at an important crossing. The Roman Road stretching from northeast to southwest is cut here by the highway leading from the Ḥawrân in the south to Homṣ in the north. North of the Ḥân at-Trâb the latter divides, one branch running past the well Ġebb az-Zbejdî, the other through the pass of al-Jabârde.

At 1.52 we noticed a Latin inscription on a fallen milestone. I made an impression and a copy of it, which took me until 2.45. At three o'clock we passed another milestone, and the negro ‘Abdallâh pointed out to me some ruins about five kilometers to the south of our road. At 4.52 we reached the Ḥân aš-Šâmât, where we had wished to let our camels rest, in order that they might graze and then be able to continue traveling after supper. But far and wide there was not a vestige of a plant. The herds of the Eben Ḥnejjân of the Rwala tribe, which had camped here for some time, had eaten everything in the vicinity, and there was nothing left for our camels. All we could do was to leave the place; which we did without further delay, riding on as fast as possible to Dmejr, where we halted at 7.08 before my tent between the al-Maksûra barracks and the Roman camp of Dmejr al-‘Atîže. Hither, while I had been away, an-Nûri had moved his camp from the al-‘Aṣej-fîr valley. Coming to my tent we surprised a large party that my servant Farağ was treating to *burrul*, rice, and tea. ‘Abdallâh al-Maṭrûd was away somewhere visiting.

After a while the Prince's scribe Ġwâd abu ‘Ali, who hailed from ‘Âna on the Euphrates, delivered to me several letters which he had brought from Damascus. He was followed by Nawwâf and finally by Prince an-Nûri himself, who asked all kinds of questions about my trip and did not leave me until after midnight. Then, since Ġwâd had to go to Damascus that same day, I sat down to my correspondence and wrote until dawn.

CHAPTER VII

SOJOURN AT DMEJR AL-‘ATĪŽE

Tuesday, November 3, 1908. After sunrise I dismissed my servant Farāğ. His dismissal came to him so unexpectedly that he found the parting with my tent and supplies very hard indeed. He cursed, reviled everything and everybody, asked several persons to put in a good word for him, and begged and promised to mend his ways; but it was out of the question to keep him any longer. He then called on all his friends to bear witness that he had received fourteen napoleons (\$ 54.04) from me in advance and, since for this sum he had served me two months and ten days, he now owed me nothing. He even wanted me to confirm this in writing, a request I refused to comply with, since he was hired for me for three napoleons a month by the Ḥāğğ Dâūd âl Sâlem, a good friend of mine. Farāğ's complaints having no end, I threatened to have him led off by a gendarme to Damascus — which helped, because he went out and was not seen any more about the camp.

Prince an-Nûri was very uneasy because the rains were so late in coming that season; he was thus prevented from going to the inner desert, since he could not have found water there either for his people or the camels. As the mountains northeast of Dmejir and the plain east of aš-Šâmât were grazed over completely by this time, all the Rwala could do was to send their herds into the territory of their enemies, the Ahâli al-Ğebel, or even into the volcanic area, Tlûl al-‘Ijât. The herds were remaining at pasture (*je‘azzebaw*) for six days under the protection of the younger warriors, who were commanded by Nawwâf. The latter came to take leave of me when he went to the pasture on his ash gray, pure blooded she-camel. I accompanied him for quite a stretch, at last leaving him at the Roman camp of Dmejir al-‘Atiže, where I spent an hour or so at work.

Dmejir al-‘Atiže was the largest fortified camp northeast of Damascus (Fig. 29). It is 189 meters long from east to west by 173 meters wide. There is a round tower in each corner

measuring 20 meters in diameter, and rounded turrets project from the sides. The middle turrets on each side are only 8 and 9.95 meters apart on the east and west and on the north and south sides respectively; between each pair a gate leads into the camp. From north to south the camp is cut through by a road seven meters wide, with columns ornamenting both sides of it. Two narrower roads run parallel with it from north to south, and there are three similar ones from east to west. In the western half of the enclosure are two buildings of almost equal size, each 20 meters long from north to south by 17 meters wide. Outside the camp, near its southwest corner, is a basilica 30 meters in length by 24 meters in width, divided into three aisles by four pillars on each side. The nave ends at the east with a stately apse. Neither in the camp nor in the basilica are any columns or even pieces of marble left, everything having been sold in Damascus.

Returning to my tent, I found the Prince there with the chief, Fahad. An-Nûri showed me a Mannlicher carbine of the 1898 model which I had given him. Being used to the Martini rifle, he could not accustom himself to the Mannlicher lock and had had it changed to the Martini type. This pleased him beyond measure and made him boast that his carbine carried much farther and better than the Martini. To my mild reproof that he could have loaded the original Mannlicher with five cartridges, while now he had to be satisfied with only one, he replied that at least he would not have to waste so much ammunition as before.

At noon I was visited by the Turkish official at Dmejir, who was very pleasant to me when he saw that I had orders as well as letters of introduction from Constantinople and Damascus. He also told me that my discharged servant, Farağ, had denounced me as having come to the country with the intention of inciting the Bedouins against the Government.

In the afternoon I overhauled my provisions and was not a little surprised to find to what extent they had been pillaged by both my servants during my absence. ‘Abdallâh kept quiet; when I asked him what they had done with the flour, which was 150 kilograms, and the sugar, which was 30 kilograms short, he said that he knew whom he served and that he must act accordingly. After supper the Prince came, complaining that he had received from Nawwâf only thirty instead of the promised two hundred rounds and begged me to make

good the rounds of which he had been cheated by Nawwâf. I gave him what he wanted, making the remark that he should not allow his son to cheat him. Then he began to explain that a messenger had come from Fejşal eben Raşid with letters in

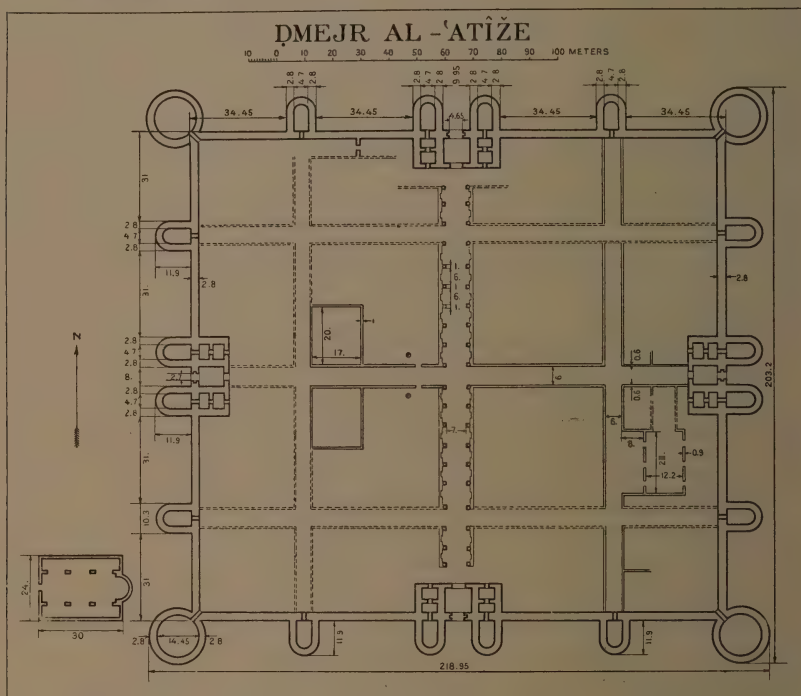


FIG. 29—Dmejr al-'Atiže, plan.

which Fejşal and his followers asked him for his help against Eben Subhân, offering him the oasis of al-Ğowf as a reward. An-Nûri said that scarcely had Nawwâf heard of this than he wanted to go with a thousand riders to al-Ğowf in order to get possession of that important place, which Eben Raşid had taken away from the Rwala sixty years before. Nawwâf, he added, was counting on the help of the Rwala clans then camping in the neighborhood of al-Ğowf, but he, an-Nûri, would not permit him to begin to fight before all the Rwala divisions had collected in the northern part of the Nefûd.

Wednesday, November 4, 1908. My men occupied themselves with repairing our riding and pack saddles; Tûmân was

sketching a map of our trip, and I went to Dmejir to return the Turkish official's visit. He welcomed me cordially, praised my Gasser revolver, and asked if I could not order one for him, or, perhaps, give him one. I promised not to forget him on my return from the desert. This pleased him so much that he offered to let me ride his mare when I returned to my tent. The official was a Circassian named Rajsûli, a descendant of the famous Shamyl who gave the Russians so much trouble in the Caucasus in the first half of the last century.

The settlement of Dmejir has about 2500 inhabitants and is divided into five precincts (*hârat*):

Hârat al-Ṛarbijje (or al-Ḥâṣel), of the ‘Aḳejdât (alderman: Hâjel al-Ibrâhîm).

Hârat aš-Šerḳijje (or as-Sijjâd), of the Nu‘ejm (alderman: Ḥalîl eben Ḥamdân).

Hârat al-Ḳiblijje, of the Lhejb (alderman: ‘Abdallâh al-‘Ali).

Hârat al-‘Allâḳ, of the Swârke (alderman: Hazîm al-Faḥallâh).

Hârat al-Mšarrež, of the Ḥawâlde (alderman: Ismâ‘în al-Ḥasan, who is also the mayor of all Dmejir).²⁷

Having ridden to my tent on the official's mare, I visited the ailing Turkijje, widow of Prince Saṭṭâm, who had died six years before. Turkijje was the daughter of Eben Mhejd, the head chief of the Fed‘ân tribe, the worst enemies of the Rwala. She evinced much interest in my trip, particularly in the country about the town of “ar-Ruṣejje”—as she called ar-Reṣâfa—because her tribe used to camp there very often and she knew every gully in the district, even the smallest.

In the afternoon I dismissed my other servant, ‘Abdallâh al-Maṭrûd, who would not take sufficient care of my property and, moreover, never made an effort to conceal his hatred of the Christians.

In the evening my neighbor ‘Adûb eben Meğwel brought me his *sulḳijje* (greyhound bitch) as a present, which I declined with the excuse that I had neither a falcon nor a falconer, without which his well-trained hound would only de-

²⁷ According to the inscription given in *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*, Vol. 3, no. 129, the camp at Dmejir was built perhaps about 162 A. D.

In the settlement of Dumejr, about fifteen miles distant from Damascus, ‘Obejdallâh ibn Ma‘mar died of grief on learning that his nephew Mûsa had been murdered in Irak (in 701) because he took part in the revolt against ‘Abdalmalek. According to others, he was said to have died of the pestilence ravaging Syria at that time. (Al-Bekri, *Mu‘ğam* [Wüstenfeld], pp. 622 f.; Abu-l-Farağ, *Arâni* [Bûlâḳ, 1285 A. H.], Vol. 14, p. 105.)

Jâkût, *Mu‘ğam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 3, p. 481, writes that Dumejr is a settlement and fort on the farthest border of Damascus and the desert of as-Samâwa.

Hağgi Halfa, *Gihân numa* (Constantinople, 1145 A. H.), p. 586, states that in ‘Adra’ and Dumejr the *kelw* plant is burned for its ashes and used in the preparation of soap, thus bringing a good profit to the population. The best ashes of this sort (called *kull*) are produced by the inhabitants of the fort of Gerûd.

generate. I did not accept presents and thus avoided putting myself under obligations to anybody.

Thursday, November 5, 1908. In the morning I explained to my new servants, Nâşer and Blejhân, their duties, after which I spent the entire day working on and arranging the scientific material I had brought from my trip. Towards noon a slave of the chief Hâled eben Saţţâm came to me with his master's request for ammunition for the Gasser revolver, which he had received from me some time before. I said that whenever his master wanted something he should tell me so himself. This made Hâled come soon. I gave him forty rounds, but asked him at the same time never to send his servant on such an errand again. The Turkish official Rajsûli Efendi also came, begging for belladonna drops for his wife. An-Nûri asked me to go with him to see a sick warrior — the bravest of his tribe, as he said — who had been wounded by a shot in a raid about three months before. The wound had healed, but he had suffered over two months from diarrhoea, which enfeebled him until he looked like a skeleton. Scarcely had I come to the sick man when he hastily stopped his mouth and nose with his fingers, fearing that my odor, or rather the emanation from my body, might injure him. I tried to encourage him and left the necessary medicine, while the Prince counseled the patient's brother to take care of him as I had instructed.

Friday, November 6, 1908. All day I spent cataloguing my scientific material. When noon came, the report was brought to me by the brother of the sick warrior that he was asking for food for the first time in six weeks. He asked what the sick man should be given now.

"Milk," said I.

"We have no milk."

"Rice."

"Neither have we rice, but an-Nûri would give us some."

"Then what have you?"

"Four loads of barley for our mare and the eight of us. The barley will last us all winter, and in the spring we shall have milk!"

The wandering merchants and the other friends of my discharged servants could not get used to the idea that they would not have access to my provisions any more and for that reason kept bothering my new servants with all kinds

of supplications, requests, and even threats. Twice I had to drive them away from my large tent. One Kubejsi—as such traders are called in the desert because the majority of them hail from the settlement of al-Kubejsa, west of Hīt—even had the impudence to come to my round tent, where he lit a cigarette and sat down most composedly. To my curt question as to what he wanted, he said that he had cut his hand and had come to me to have the wound washed, salved, and bandaged. I said:

“Go to the Prince and ask him to come with thee. If he does that, I will do as thou wishest; not otherwise.” Then he left and did not return.

Saturday, November 7, 1908. My neighbor ‘Adûb eben Meġwel pitched his tent again today. His women pulled out the tent pegs, drew the tent about twenty meters to the south, drove in the pegs anew, lifted the tents over the poles, and then lit a fire under it. The winter supplies as well as the litters remained outside. In the afternoon, when the sky became clouded in the west, and later in the evening, when a strong wind brought a heavy rain—unfortunately only of short duration—, ‘Adûb asked my servants to help him carry the barley and *burrul* sacks into the tent. Blejhân had to dig a trench (*nîc*) around my tent to carry off the rain water, and from all sides could be heard the noise of blows striking tent pegs, strengthening them to withstand the wind and rain, which soaked the roof and the walls of the tents, making them as heavy as lead.

My tent could not have been put up in a more inconvenient place. It stood in the channel of a short side gully on the very edge of a wide road leading from the desert to the watering place and would have been flooded if the rain had been of some duration; its ropes shook more than once a day under the hoofs of the she-camels walking about the camp. Even if they did keep two or three meters from the pegs of my tents, the incessant clamor made by the coaxing cries and threats of the herdsmen, the grumbling, the roars, and uneasy murmurs of the camels, and the stamping of the horses could be heard all night long, waking me from sleep every little while. The night before, a camel carrying two large water bags had stumbled against one of my tent pegs and the girl or woman driving him called out: “O, he who is noble-minded will help me!”

Sunday, November 8, 1908. We were all sorry that the rain ended so soon, since we had been waiting for it anxiously for so many months, and now it was over in two short hours. In the morning the sky in the west cleared, and the sun rose as if from a bath. The earth was breathing, the air freed from dust, the birds sang as if awaking to a new life—it seemed as if it were the first day of spring. In the afternoon Ġwâd returned from Damascus with several letters for me, which I answered immediately, in order that the Prince's messenger might take them to Damascus again before we left Dmejr. Ġwâd brought 120 napoleons (\$463.20). I offered him one as his reward, but he would not accept it, asking from me a ten-shot repeating pistol. I had to refuse his request, telling him that he did not need it, while I might be obliged to give presents to the chiefs of other tribes in whose territories I should work later on.

An-Nûri dropped in for a chat and said he felt sorry to see me sitting all day and doing nothing but write, write, write. Then my neighbor ʿAdûb eben Meġwel came in, stricken with grief for his sister, who had died the day before, having been ailing for years. Her death was what caused the women to move the tent to another place, since no Bedouin can spend the night on the spot where a person has died. ʿAdûb stayed all night with the Prince, who gave him a good supper.

Monday, November 9, 1908. My camels came back from pasture at nine o'clock in the morning. They had been there six nights; on the seventh they were to rest by the water (*ʿala sumḥ*). Nawwâf, who brought them back, alighted at my tent and stayed with me until afternoon. He said that the pasture on the northern border of the territory of Tlûl al-ʿIjât was eaten off and for that reason all the Arabs had moved their camps to the south of the rain pools of Sejḳal. Since I intended soon to visit that very territory, this news did not please me.

In the afternoon a feast was given by my neighbor ʿAdûb in honor of the deceased. The sheep, tied the day before at the place where the woman had died, was killed on the spot and cooked. The tent ropes were loosened so that the tent seemed to be sinking. ʿAdûb invited me to the feast too, but, having been unwell for the last two days, I was unable to go. His guests stayed with him long past midnight.

Tuesday, November 10, to Sunday, November 15, 1908. On Tuesday morning the camels went to pasture again. I should have liked to have kept four or five animals near my tent to enable me to make shorter excursions, but, since there was no pasture in the immediate neighborhood, I had to wait another seven days. I had plenty to do. I finished my topographical report about the last trip, sketched and completed the map, and revised the architectural plans. All of us worked from sunrise to sunset and often even longer by candlelight. Nâşer and Blejhân, being thoroughly familiar with the terrain we had examined, proved excellent assistants. They drew the various valleys in the sand; the mountains they marked with coarse gravel; they defined distances and directions and argued about the pronunciation and correct spelling of this or that word. It was hard but profitable work, because I could now complete and verify my memoranda.

I was not feeling well. From Wednesday to Sunday I ate very little and what I did take I vomited. The nights were a torment as I could not sleep, and in the daytime I had to work hard to be ready on time. The Prince and Nawwâf showed their native courtesy by coming every day to inquire about my health.²⁸

²⁸ The author's subsequent journeys in the winter of 1908—1909 and spring of 1909 are narrated in his *Arabia Deserta* (1927), pp. 1—353.

PART II

1912

CHAPTER VIII

ḤOMŞ TO AL-BḤARA BY WAY OF AL-BAŞÎRI AND TUDMOR

At the end of February, 1912, I returned to Damascus for a new visit to Palmyrena in company with Prince Sixtus of Bourbon. After calling on the Governor General, we went by way of Baalbek to Ḥomş, where we were hospitably received by the Jesuit fathers, in whose house we completed our preparations. Our companions were to be my tried scientific assistant, Rudolf Thomasberger, and, as a servant, Nâşer eben ʿObejd al-Marlûk of al-Žerjitejn. We planned to make the trip on camels to be bought from the Arabs. According to reports from various sources there were a number of camps in the neighborhood of al-Forkłos, a place we wished to reach by hiring a cart. The baggage, saddles, and remainder of our outfit was to be carried on hired pack camels in Nâşer's charge.

ḤOMŞ TO AL-ĞEBA'

Friday, March 15, 1912. At 8.03 A. M. we were at the Bâb Tudmor (Tudmor Gate) in Ḥomş. To the north is a picturesque Moslem cemetery. A pretty sight is the large mosque consecrated to the memory of Ḥâled ibn al-Walîd. Its white walls and slender minarets, contrasting pleasantly with the houses of black basalt, form a sort of virginal oasis. We sat in a small cart behind a team of strong horses and drove across a wide fertile level between fields of wheat and barley. On the south and west the horizon was shut in by the high snow-clad ridges of the Antilebanon and Lebanon and on the northwest by the furrowed ridge of an-Nuşejrijje; to the north projected the two mighty black hills of Kırûn Ḥama', and south of them the dome of the settlement Dêr Ba'alba (otherwise known as al-Mu'albe) glistened in the rays of the sun. To the northeast the black edge of the al-ʿAla' territory faded into the distance, against which there stood forth sharply the white kaşr of Şumejmîs, itself crowning an iso-

lated white hill. To the east and south the gradually ascending plain resembled a green, rolling sea. To the southeast could be seen the dome of the tomb *Ḳabr Ḥebâb*, behind which rose the great ruin of Tell Zbejde with the hamlet of al-Ġdejde to the west of it and north of the latter the village of Rajjân; the settlement of al-Fêrûzi was farther west. At 8.42 we were at the hamlet of Zejdal or Zejdân, which has about eighty huts, inhabited by Syrian Christians. The huts cluster about a square church with a low steeple. Some have flat roofs of mud, and there are also spacious yards with conically shaped huts built of mud bricks. These are called *ḳubbe* and serve partly as dwellings, partly as storehouses. North of Zejdân is the shrine *Mizâr Ebrîne* and in the plain northwest of it the extensive ruins of al-Ḳaddâh.

After driving for some time through fertile fields and past larger and smaller ruins, we came at 9.45 to the settlement of Sukkara, where there are about sixty huts, owned by both Christians and Moslems. To the north glistened the white rampart of an old military camp in one corner of which was built the village of al-Mišrefe. To the south, below the latter, could be seen the settlement of al-Ġâbrijje, near which rises the mighty Tell Bel'ân.²⁹

Still farther south, south of Tell Bel'ân, are grouped the huts of the hamlet of al-Bwêr, and northeast of the latter rises the shrine *aš-Šejḥ Ḥmêd*. We met many country people and half-*fellâḥîn* driving sheep to the Ḥomş market. On asking them the whereabouts of the Fwâ're and 'Umûr tribes, we were told that they had gone south of al-Başîri and Tudmor because of the prosperity (*rabî'*) of that region.

We did not find a single real *še'îb* on the entire plain. There are many low places but no actual channels. Not until near the hamlet of Abu Dâlje at 10.20 did we see a few narrow and shallow valleys. Abu Dâlje lies below the northern end of a large ruin and numbers about eighty huts belonging to Syrian Christians. The well there is twenty meters deep. We stayed only eight minutes.

From there the at-Tidribe road leads to Tudmor by way of the settlements of 'Abbâs, *aš-Šetlâja*, Tell *aš-Šnân*, and the wells *Ġebb Ḥabl*, all of which are on the southwestern border of the hillocks of *aš-Şawwâne*, which merge on the east with the *aš-Şômerijje* ridge. The western spur

²⁹ Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* (Chabot), Vol. 4, p. 525, writes that in the settlement of Bel'ân (wrongly spelled "Bel'atan" in the text), in the environs of Ḥomş, was born St. George, who was elected patriarch of the Jacobites in 759 A. D.

of aṣ-Ṣawwâne is called al-Ĥeble; here are the hamlets of al-Ĥarrâḳi, Tell al-Rarr, aṣ-Ṣukatlije, and al-Ĥeble.

From Abu Dâlje we rode along the eastern slope of the Ṭaraḳ Hôlâje, stopping at 11.12 at the large Tell 'Ejfir ruins south of 'Abbâs and north of al-Hazzi. A short way from Tell 'Ejfir there bubbles out a vigorous spring of the same name, north of which are eight huts at the western foot of an isolated hillock on the top of which there once stood a strong fort. East of the hillock are the remains of old houses and a large burying ground with graves dug perpendicularly in the ground. During the preceding few months many of the graves had been opened and robbed. After a while all the inhabitants of the hamlet of Tell 'Ejfir crowded about us, wishing to know how soon Syria would be occupied by the Italians, who, they expected, would not plague them as much as the Turks.

At 2.35 P.M. we left Tell 'Ejfir and after a ten minute ride over stony ground reached a basin where Ġarbû'ijje, a village of about forty huts, is situated. To the east the horizon was shut in by the spur Ḥaṣm aṣ-Ṣawwâne and by the higher ridge of aṣ-Ŝômerijje. To the west the equally great height Ṭaraḳ Hôlâje stretched from northwest to southeast, and beyond it, far to the southwest, rose the lofty, snow-clad butte Ḥalîmt al-Kâra. To the southeast extended a vast plain, with two isolated domes, Nhejdên. At 3.25 we passed the village of as-Sajjid, at 3.52 the al-Besse ruin, and at 4.16 were in the valley of al-Forḳlos, through which the run-off makes its way to the northwest. On the right-hand side of this valley stands a large heap of ruins with the débris of several old buildings scattered to the east, all of which is called al-Forḳlos.³⁰

The soil here is almost white and needs much water. Wide fields had been sown with barley and wheat but were suffering from the drought. In the eastern part of the ruins a new hamlet of the same name has been built, and there we halted at 4.34. Both Christians and Moslems live in the place. Being afraid of the rain, we took refuge in the house of the

³⁰ Forḳlos, or al-Forḳlos, is the classical Betproclis that was garrisoned by the *equites Saraceni indigenae* under the command of the *dux Foenicis* (*Notitia dignitatum*, Oriens 32, no. 27).

Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 881f., states that Furḳuls is a spring not far from Salamja in Syria.

In 1292 Sultan al-Malek al-Aṣraf went from Damascus to hunt in the desert and encamped by the shallow wells of al-Furḳuls in the eastern part of the administrative district of Ḥomṣ (Abu-l-Feda', *Muḥtaṣar* [Adler], Vol. 5, p. 108).

Moslem elder. The inhabitants to the last soul had come from al-Žerjitejn and hence were known as al-Ḳarâwne. The Christians had their Syrian priest, but he did not like al-Forkłos and wanted to go to some town. Both village elders explained to us that east of their settlement there had been no spring, no plentifulness (*rabîc*), that year, since there had been no rain, and that we should not find any Arabs there except, perhaps, south and north of Tudmor.

We were now trying to obtain horses, but none were available, as they were supposedly grazing somewhere on the ridge of aš-Šômerijje. With our cart we could not go any farther, because the driver was in fear of being attacked and robbed on the way home. The owners of horses, on the other hand, taking advantage of our situation, made exorbitant demands. After prolonged haggling, we finally agreed to pay one *meğîdijje* (90 cents) for a horse and half a *meğîdijje* for its owner by the day, but only for the outward trip and not for the return.

It was already dark when Nâşer arrived with our baggage and brought a young Moslem called Mḥammad eben Sa'adaddin al-Ḥamûṭe, whom he had picked out for our second servant. As his behavior pleased us, I engaged him.

Saturday, March 16, 1912. Before seven o'clock the men of al-Forkłos brought the horses and then began to hunt for saddles and stirrups. There was no piece of dress, bag, or rope in the entire hamlet that they did not bring in order to make something out of it to resemble a saddle or stirrups. The horses shown us were small, thin, and covered with callosities; the saddles were miserable; and the stirrups not to be depended upon. And yet it was necessary to take what they offered, since we did not have our own camels and our own saddles to ride on. Nâşer had his hands full with preparations, even with Mḥammad as a good helper. I could see that he liked to work and always worked for a purpose. At 8.30 we were all in our saddles and soon had left al-Forkłos behind us. Nâşer and Mḥammad were in charge of the pack camels, while we went on horseback ahead of them.

Al-Forkłos lies on the eastern edge of the undulating plain al-Kâc, which is shut in on the west by the Ṭaraḵ Hôlâje, on the southwest by the Ṭaraḵ al-Knejje, on the south by the hills of Abu Rubâh, and on the east by the ranges of aš-Šômerijje and aš-Şawwâne. In the Ṭaraḵ al-Knejje are the settle-

ments of al-ʿAzîzîje and al-Burhânîje; also some springs, the water of which is led off into the plain al-Ķâʿ. East of al-Forklos stands a square barrack occupied by gendarmes, but only in summer time, for then the Bedouins camp in the neighborhood.

Fifteen minutes after our departure we passed on our left the ruin and spring ʿAjn ad-Dwejlîb.³¹

Below the rising sun we sighted the large Riġm abu ʿAĵbên. A strong icy wind drove thick, dark brown clouds from the northwest into the plain and soon hid the view. At 10.20 we rode through a camp of the ʿAĵejdât clan. Many tents had been blown over by the wind, while men and women were hanging on to others with all their strength or driving in the tent pegs. The camp once behind us, we soon reached the rocky heights of Zuĵum al-Ĥanzîr.

Shortly after 10.50 the sky cleared, enabling us to see the hills of Abu Rubâĥ to the south, the three white domes of al-Bawlije or al-Bûlije to the east, with the two domes of al-Wuʿerîje to the southwest of them, and far to the northeast the three pyramids of at-Tjâs. Between the rocky swells of the al-Ķâʿ plain are large depressions with a fertile soil but no inhabitants. From 12.10 to 1.58 P. M. we stayed on the northeastern edge of the hills of Abu Rubâĥ, among which we then passed to the wide basin of az-Zelʿi. Our eyes were fixed on the black mountain chain which, like a mighty rampart, shuts in Palmyrena on the south. Only a few passages lead across this rampart and they were all visible, deep rifts dividing the mountains into several groups. To the north of the rampart spreads the brown lowland ad-Daw, overhung just then by veils of dense vapor. Southwest of the lowland rose the ridge of al-Ĥarrûba in three terraces. Northwest of it, at the east end of the Dahšâš district, stands the isolated, flat-topped butte Munġâr ar-Rmejle. East of us glistened in the rays of the sun the white escarpment of the Târ ar-Rĥejmi, northwest of which were visible the cleft hillocks Muʿallaĵ aš-Škaʿ and southwest of the latter the lowland of Mkejmen al-Ġebaʿ. South of ar-Rĥejmi this lowland is overtopped by the low mesas Ķwêrât Bîz and as-Semen, with the rain holes Ruġr Šerife close by.

At 3.18 we sighted on our right the Abu Rubâĥ ruin and took our way across the spurs of Ĥazm al-Jasîr to the watering place of al-Ġebaʿ, which we reached at 4.16.

AL-ĠEBAʿ TO AL-BÂRDE

Al-Ġebaʿ is a vigorous spring of fresh water which fills a pond and irrigates fields where wheat and barley were just then growing luxuriantly. The owner, a Christian from al-

³¹ Wright, *Catalogue* (1870—1872), p. 708, col. 2, mentions a monastery of Dejlabîn in the country east of Damascus which may be identical with this Dwejlîb.

Žerjitejn, had built himself a hut on the north side of the spring. North and northwest of it are the remains of an old settlement and a ruined building, 116 paces long from north to south by 58 wide. It was built from the large, roughly hewn blocks which were scattered about in all directions. Indeed, everything was so dilapidated that it would have been impossible to sketch a plan without resorting to excavations. The building is situated on the left bank of the *še'ib* of at-Tîn.³²

The wind was getting so strong that we could not put up our tents and had to sleep in the hut in company with the cows, sheep, and goats which were also seeking shelter there.

Sunday, March 17, 1912. The night was very cold, and in the morning the sky was overcast with small dark clouds chasing one another. We sent our pack animals directly to the al-Bârde wells, but we ourselves turned at 7.15 A. M. from al-Ġeba' east-northeast to the watering place at al-Komkôm. We rode past limestone rocks with their sides slowly crumbling away. On the right of the at-Tîn valley great numbers of storks were gravely promenading. They are spared by the natives, who never kill them and will not eat their flesh, esteeming them for destroying the locusts, calling them *miskîn* (poor things), and likening them to the members of the Šlejb tribe, which is spread over almost the whole of Arabia and everywhere must bow to others.

At 7.40 we were at al-Komkôm. The abundant spring there, which fills several ponds of large size, lies in a basin open to the south but otherwise entirely shut in by limestone rocks. The edges of the ponds are white with crusts of salt. Southwest of the southern pond is a well with walls of hewn stone, which was nearly full of water. A few paces to the southeast of this well is a knoll on the top of which there once stood a roomy house built of large stones. East of al-Komkôm and the valley of at-Tîn extends the lowland of Mkejmen al-Ġeba' and south of this the lowland of Arḏ al-Kâmû', which after good winter and spring rains are full of the herds and tents of the Sba'a tribe. The herds are watered in al-Komkôm, the somewhat salty water making them thrive surprisingly. The people use the water from al-Ġeba'.

³² Jākūt, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 17, writes that al-Ġeba' is a watering place in Syria between Aleppo and Tudmor, where Sejfaddowle made an attack on the Bedouins.

Among the country residences of the Omayyad caliphs that were demolished in the reign of the Caliph Abu-l-'Abbās mention is made of Bâb at-Tîn (Abu-l-Farağ, *Aḡāni*, [Bulāk, 1285 A. H.], Vol. 18, p. 150). — As Walid I, like Yazid I, made both al-Hawwārīn and al-Žerjitejn with the surrounding country their favorite abodes, we might, in all probability, look for the unknown residence of Bâb at-Tîn in the ruined building on the bank of the at-Tîn valley.

The valley of at-Tîn winds southeasterly to the well Ġibb abu Ħaraze, southwest of Ĥudr Šerife, and disappears in ad-Daw. The lowland of Arḡ al-Kâmû ends on the northwest at the heights of al-Faṭâjer, which run from the Ṭaraḡ al-Ĥarrûba to the *še'ib* of Raḍir al-Abbâs. South of al-Faṭâjer stretches a long low hill, Ṭaraḡ Da'ḡâne, bordering the fertile lowland Rôzat al-Mizra'a on the north. To the east were seen the rose-tinged walls of the ruined Kaṣr al-Ĥêr (or al-Ĥêr al-Rarbi), as well as the whitened walls of the new barrack Nuḡṭat al-Ĥêr built about seven kilometers north of it. At this barrack is an old but recently cleared well, supposed to be 130 meters deep.

From 9.45 to 10.25 our horses grazed in a narrow but long stretch of flat ground covered with a thick growth of grass. At 11.38 we crossed the road leading from Damascus to Palmyra. On the southwest we sighted camels belonging to the inhabitants of al-Žerjitejn and met the an-Nu'ejm clan, under the chief Žâsem al-Ĥsejn, moving north. They were coming from al-Baširi and said that we should find some other clans there, as well as near the pass of al-Wa'are. We should have liked to have bought some camels from them, but found that this was impossible, as all their animals were mangy. From 12.50 to 1.30 P. M. our horses grazed in Ma'zeb aṣ-Šlejb, some short but wide valleys which run out north among the aš-Šuṭub hillocks from the mountain range of Raṭṭûs. After two o'clock we reached the shallow rocky hollows Ĥawâja umm Šire, where we expected to find some rain puddles but were disappointed. Crossing the path leading to the pass Tenijjet umm al-'Awâmîd west of Raṭṭûs, we ascended the slope of al-Muta'âreb to the az-Zerḡa pass. The path is so steep and smooth that we had to dismount and lead our animals by the bridles. The pack camels, which we had overtaken by this time, could make headway only by the greatest effort. On the left of the ridge was seen a rift where flows the fresh-water spring of az-Zerḡa. Nâṣer told us that in and about az-Zerḡa is the favorite ground of the ibex, he himself having killed several there. The hunter, covering himself with dry plants, hides among the boulders and waits breathlessly for the animals, which come to graze on their beaten track. If the wind blows from their quarter, the ibexes come quite close to the hunter, who can sometimes kill two of them at once, especially if he has a double-barreled gun.

From the pass we sighted a few tents of the Nu'ejm clan on the western foot of the an-Neḡneḡijje ridge. Going down was much more difficult than coming up, because the horses

were so tired that they could hardly move, and therefore we preferred to walk. Fearing that the owners of the horses, whom we had paid in advance at al-Forkłos, might ride away with them, we dared not separate ourselves from the party, and all of us felt much relieved when at 6.10 we finally reached the wells of al-Bârde. These wells are ten meters deep. Supplying ourselves with water, we marched dispiritedly about two kilometers farther and encamped on the eastern slope of the ridge of al-Bârde, not caring to stay at the wells, where no fuel could be had and where, moreover, herdsmen watering their flocks might have molested us.

AL-BÂRDE TO AL-BAŞÎRI

The wells of al-Bârde lie in a basin shut in by high mountains, which, however, afford an easy crossing from north to south. These wells are a favorite camping place which I believe to have been the old watering place and camping ground of al-Ruwejr (often mistakenly rendered al-ʿAwîr or al-ʿUwejr).³³

Monday, March 18, 1912. Leaving all our baggage in Mhammad's care, we made a detour from our camp to the al-Başîri ruins, going through the valley of al-Ḳanṭara, which is over a kilometer wide and has high mountains on both sides. Running down the valley is a subterranean aqueduct coming from a large artificial reservoir which was built at the foot of Mount ʿÂde in such a way that it catches the water not only from this but also from the ar-Rmâḥ mountain. To the west-southwest rises majestically the mighty table mountain of Keḥle, sculptured by erosion out of two enormously thick limestone strata, the upper one violet in color, the lower yellowish. The steep cliffs of Keḥle were tinged with blue. A row of low hillocks stretches eastward from this mountain.

At nine o'clock we noticed at our left the stone walls of old fields and vineyards. By 9.15 we had reached the southern foot of the spur of al-Ḥlejjel and could look through a wide rift eastward into the vast desert. To the south and southwest the horizon was shut in by the high Mount ʿÂde and to the west by the ar-Rmâḥ mountain. Between the spur of al-Ḥlejjel and Keḥle we saw the al-Başîri ruins, where we dismounted at 9.17. To the southwest of the ruins is a large cemetery and to the southeast three fresh-water wells twenty

³³ See below, Appendix V.

meters deep. Nâşer told us that his father used to go to al-Başîri before every Christian holiday and there light an oil lamp in a church. The church, he said, was demolished by the Fwâ're tribesmen no more than fifty years ago.

AL-BAŞÎRI TO AL-BÊZA

We began work at once, examining the buildings, which are very extensive but in a hopelessly ruinous condition, and sketching the ground plan of the largest building still standing (Fig. 30).

In the center of the ruins could be seen the foundations of walls two meters thick, which formed a rectangle 140 meters long from west to east by 100 meters wide. The north wall is adjoined by a similar space 140 meters long by 43 meters wide, but it is enclosed by a weaker wall. In the large enclosure stands a fort 49 meters long from east to west by 40 meters wide, with round towers 10.7 meters in diameter at each corner. In the eastern wall a gate opens into a court, around which near the fortification walls are smaller structures, mostly in ruins. Of the towers the southeastern one is the best preserved. In the southwestern part of the court there is a well.³⁴

We had not yet finished our plan of the al-Başîri ruins when a column of dust rose in the southeast and a troop of soldiers mounted on mules arrived. They had come from Ĥama', where they were quartered, and were out searching for camps of the Nu'ejm clan, from whom they wished to collect taxes. Paying no regard to their officer, they dismounted, surrounded us while we were busy with our instruments, took from us all they could lay hands on, and examined everything. Fearing

³⁴ Al-Başîri lies on the Roman road which was made in Diocletian's reign from Damascus to Palmyra; it is identical with the classical Danaba (Danaba of Ptolemy, *Geography*, V, 14: 19; Danava of *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*, Vol. 3, no. 755; Danoua of *Peutinger Table* [Vienna, 1888], Segm. 9; Danaba of *Notitia dignitatum*, Oriens 32, no. 31).

According to Ptolemy, Danaba was one of the towns of Palmyrena. From its important location on the southern foot of the Palmyrene border mountains almost halfway between Palmyra and the cultivated country and at the entrance to three very easy passes, it was selected as the residence of the *praefectus legionis tertiae Gallicae*. Besides the prefect, a bishop subordinate to the metropolitan of Damascus likewise resided there. At the Council of Chalcedon in 451, Theodore, the metropolitan of Damascus, signed the canons in the name of Bishop Theodore from the town Danabon (erroneously printed "Dabron") (Harduin, *Conciliorum collectio* [Paris, 1715], Vol. 2, col. 485; Le Quien, *Oriens christianus* [Paris, 1740], Vol. 2, cols. 847 f.; Mansi, *Concilia* [1759-1798], Vol. 7, col. 169, writes "Danaborum." "Dababorum"). The same Theodore also signed a petition to the Emperor Leo as "episcopus Castridanabeni" of the province of Phoenicia Secunda (Harduin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, col. 720). The resolution of the fifth oecumenical council at Constantinople in 553 is confirmed by "Eulogius episcopus Danaborum" (Harduin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, col. 206). Neither Hierocles nor Georgius Cyprius mention Danaba among the towns of Phoenicia Libanensis.

that they might spoil our photographic and cartographic instruments, we requested the officer to stop them; but he only laughed, begged for cigarettes, and then lay down beside us. Knowing that we could not get rid of them soon

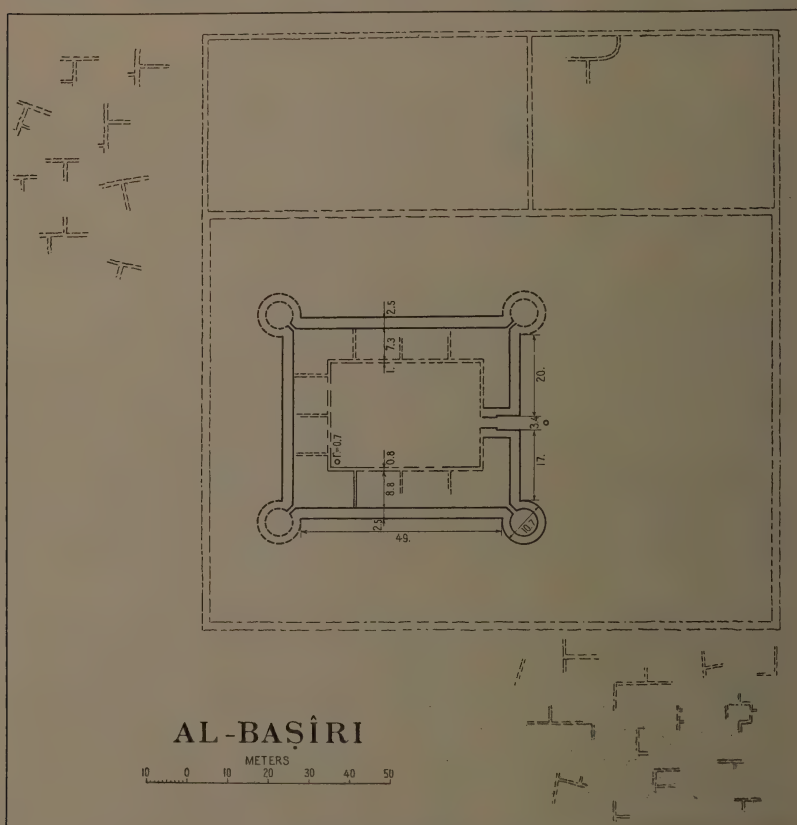


FIG. 30—Al-Baṣīri, plan.

and that to work any longer would be out of the question, we mounted our horses and started to ride back to our camp, but the soldiers accompanied us, declaring themselves our guests. Unable to endure the childish jests of both soldiers and officer, we stopped after about half an hour and lay down beside our horses; the soldiers, however, followed our example, asking us all the time to conduct them to our camp and feed them, our hungry guests. Since we showed no willingness to humor them, one after another they left us; and finally

the officer went too, reproaching us for our stinginess in not feeding hungry travelers. Then, sending the horses to our camp, we walked up to some tents of the Nu'ejm clan to buy some camels. The chief instantly sent to the pasture for the animals, but it took fully two hours before the men returned with some really good she-camels. The price demanded, however, was so high that we could agree on only one, which we purchased for eleven Turkish pounds (\$ 49.50). With this animal we returned to our camp.

Tuesday, March 19, 1912. It rained at night, and our tents were so wet in the morning that we had to wait until they got at least partly dry; otherwise our pack camels would not have been able to carry them. After we got started Nāşer and Mĥammad led the pack camels in the direction of the military station of al-Bêza on the road from al-Žerjitejn to Tudmor Tûmân mounted our new she-camel and went along with them. We could not help praising her long steady pace. At 6.45 we went down the al-Kanțara valley, where after about a quarter of an hour we sighted numerous gullies eroded in the alluvial deposits on our right. These were from a half meter to three meters deep and constituted a great hindrance in passing through the valley, which for about five hundred meters of its width is filled with alluvium to a depth of ten meters.

We now rode along the foot of the al-Bârde mountain, which gradually approaches the rocky slopes of an-Nekneķijje, and halted at 7.20 in front of a dam over 300 meters long, 18 meters high, 18.5 meters thick at the base, and 8 meters thick at the top. The sluiceway was originally only 82 centimeters deep by 52 centimeters wide but later it was artificially enlarged in its lower part, so that it is now possible to crawl through from one side to the other. South of this opening the alluvium has been eroded and washed away by the run-off (Fig. 31), making it possible to reach the original rock bottom upon which the foundation of the dam was built and which the enlarged opening overtopped by only a few centimeters. The north side of the dam is faced with blocks sixty centimeters square, with carved ornaments like those in Palmyra. At a height of eleven meters above the bed rock the dam forms a terrace, upon which rests a wall over seven meters high, strengthened every twenty-eight meters by buttresses three meters square. Below the dam we saw a mass of broken-off blocks, half columns, and various ornaments. When the

dam was in working order, the water was held back by it for a long time after rains and was distributed among the extensive gardens to the north, through which we rode after 8.36. These gardens are called al-Ḥuzrijje.



FIG. 31—Al-Ḥarbaka from the southwest

The ridge of an-Nekneḳijje bends from northwest to northeast almost at a right angle. From 8.50 onwards we could see a rather small rift due east of us, where the spring ʿAjn al-Wuʿûl flows. One ridge of the ar-Rawâḳ mountain chain takes its name from this spring. Five high domed hills render this ridge visible from a great distance. From the fifth hill to the west an easy path leads to the ʿAjn al-Wuʿûl, a favorite camping place of the Arabs. The little spring of al-Ḳaṭṭâr flows out on the southern slope of the same ridge. To the north the white escarpment Ṭâr ar-Rhejmi shone in the rays of the sun.

We were now passing over a plain almost bare of vegetation. Only in a few sheltered places was there a little grass, in one patch of which our horses pastured from 11.50 to 12.40 P.M. To the east a white road wound up to the pass Tenijjet al-Waʿare. To the northeast could be seen the cleft ridge of al-Atjâs, or at-Tjâs, and on its right the white hills Ejât Ġhâr. The road leading from Tudmor past the Ḥân al-Leben to Ḥomṣ follows the southern foot of al-Atjâs right to the at-Tjâs ruins and thence passes about eight kilometers

to the southeast of the Murrân ruins, where itinerant blacksmiths like to come for a brown lignite which becomes red hot when put on a fire and keeps its heat longer than any charcoal.

The shortest route from al-Žerjitejn to ar-Reşâfa runs by way of at-Tjâs, which I consider to be the former settlement of Nihja.³⁵

From time to time the flat-topped ridge of al-Abjaz showed itself momentarily, only to vanish again in the dark clouds. Whenever the sun broke through the clouds in some place, its rays gave the rose-colored slopes of the mountain Marbat al-Ĥşân a fiery hue, announcing to us the site of Palmyra, queen of the desert. After four o'clock the clouds became denser and sank lower, their fragments chasing each other over the mountain summits like so many ghosts; then they descended to the level of the lowland itself, enveloping and depriving us of the impressive view. To the west we suddenly sighted a row of gigantic figures which now joined the clouds, now parted from them, appearing this minute, only to vanish the next. When they finally came closer, we found them to be our friends, the troop of soldiers on mules. They were looking for some Arabs from whom they could get enough to eat. On meeting us they shouted with joy, but our guides, especially Nâşer, were able to convince them of our shortage of meat; while not very far away, east of al-Bêza, were camping the Nu'ejm Arabs with plenty of fat wethers. The soldiers kept us company for a while, but when at five o'clock we reached al-Bêza, they watered their beasts there and, mounting again, rode at full speed eastwards in expectation of a good supper. My companions laughed at them, but an old *fellâh* from al-Forklos pitied the Arabs to whom Allâh sends such guests.

AL-BÊZA TO TUDMOR

The gendarme station of al-Bêza is very neglected, dirty, and even dilapidated; therefore we put up our tents in front of it. The well dug south of the gate is 21 meters deep, with water of a somewhat brackish taste. Lying on a safe traffic

³⁵ Jâkût (*Mu'jam* [Wüstenfeld], Vol. 4, p. 852) on his trip through the desert from ar-Rusâfa by way of al-Karjatân (al-Žerjitejn) to Damascus, stopped at the water of Nihja, then held by the Kalb tribe. He relates that in that place there was a settlement with various old monuments, buildings, and many cisterns, but without spring water. —

His statement that he traveled through the desert indicates that he did not follow the old Roman road leading through several settlements, but that he went from ar-Reşâfa directly to al-Žerjitejn by the shortest route which runs through a desert and on which lies at-Tjâs.

road from Tudmor to al-Žerjitejn and Damascus, it has always been a watering place of no little importance to caravans.³⁶

No sooner had we encamped than it began to rain very heavily, but luckily it stopped a short while later.

Wednesday, March 20, 1912. We had a restful night. Much refreshed, we mounted our horses at 7.10 A. M. and rode north-northeast. The air was very cold but so clear that we could see every rift in the mountain chain of ar-Rawāk to the south. Mount ar-Rmāḥ is not visible from al-Bêza, but at least part of Ġebel Raṭṭûs could be seen. To the northeast of the latter all the several links of ar-Rawāk were in clear view. We meant to make a detour to the demolished Ḥân al-Leben, past which ran the old road from Tudmor to Ḥoms, but we found it impossible, for the farther we advanced the softer and muddier the soil became, until we reached the edge of a salt marsh (*sabḥa*), to avoid which we had to turn from north to northeast.

In this salt marsh, the name of which is at-Ṭarfa, many *še'ibân* converge. From the mountains of al-Keteb and al-Ġurnijje on the south come ar-Raml and al-Murra; from the north, Ġḥâr, 'Arfa, Dekâra, and al-Abjaz. Ġḥâr originates under the name of aš-Šennâ'a at the north-western edge of the ridge of al-Abjaz between the mountains of aš-Šâ'er and Mrâht al-Faras. It is joined on the left by the *še'ib* of ad-Drêle, which comes from the mountain of al-Bṭêḥe at the eastern foot of the al-Ḥadîdijje ridge. In the upper part of the Ġḥâr valley are the Simrîn, al-Mezâbe', al-Bêza, and al-Miṣ'ade ruins. The *še'ib* of 'Arfa winds down from the mountain of al-Bṭêḥe and runs along the western edge of the hillocks of al-Ḥumr; in the northern portion of this hilly tract are the caves Morâjer al-A'la and in the southern the burying grounds Maḡbara Beni Helâl. The valley of Dekâra starts under the name of al-Mâsek from the mountain of al-Kêz at the northern edge of the al-Abjaz ridge and separates in its central part the hillocks of al-Ḥumr from the mountain of al-Mkêṭi'a. East of the caves Morâjer al-A'la flows the spring 'Ajn Ġezel, past which runs the shortest road from Tudmor to Umm Ḥmejme and 'Užêribât.

At 8.08 we crossed the wide but shallow valley of ar-Raml, in which are ruins of numerous old dams designed to hold back the run-off and prevent the soil from being washed away. Here and there could be seen the foundation walls of demolished

³⁶ Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 805, records that al-Bujejda is a water in the desert between Aleppo and Tadmur. —

This al-Bujejda can be nothing else than our al-Bêza, which is, of course, quite a distance from Aleppo. That we are not mistaken in this, Jâkût himself is a witness, quoting the poet al-Mutanabbi who accompanied Sejfaddowle, the lord of Aleppo, on his expedition against the Bedouins as far as the desert of as-Samâwa.

Abu-l-Feda', *Muḥtaṣar* (Adler), Vol. 5, p. 298, relates that in 1315 the chief Sulejmân ibn Muḥanna ibn 'Isa, with Tartars and Bedouins as his allies, attacked the combined Turkoman and Arab troops in their camp at Tadmur, defeated them, and pursued them as far as al-Bêza between Tadmur and al-Ḳarjatân, returning with his booty east again.

farms. At 8.40 we halted before a rise, where the fortified camp of al-Klejbijje had been built (Fig. 32). Northeast of this camp a rampart had been thrown up 464 paces long from south to north by 400 paces wide. East of the rampart are

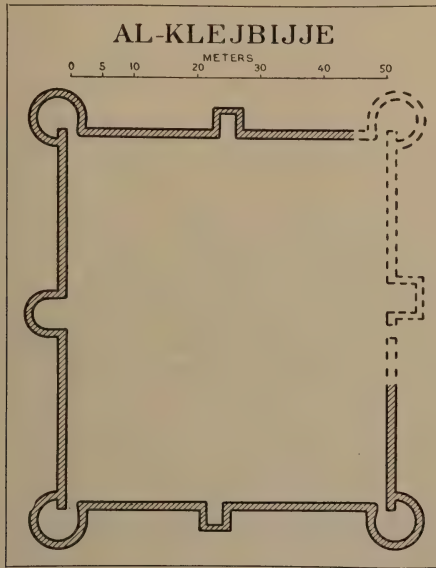


FIG. 32—Al-Klejbijje, plan.

visible the foundation walls of ruined houses, an olive press, and a fragment of a column seventy centimeters in diameter. Leaving these ruins at 9.10, we rode through the lowland of at-Tarfa, grown over with nothing but sorrel, as far as two Palmyrene altars, where we dismounted at 10.25. I had visited these in 1897 and copied all the inscriptions from them. About eighty meters west-northwest of the altars stands a Roman milestone without an inscription. After another five minutes we started again in west-northwesterly direction and at eleven o'clock found a new pair of milestones. The one standing was 1.15 meters high, 35 centimeters in diameter, and had no inscription; on the broken one lying on the ground was engraved an inscription of which I had also taken a copy in 1897. After a ride of quarter of an hour we came to another milestone, erected on a square pedestal; this one was 1.15 meters high and 1.46 meters in circumference and had an inscription. We should

have preferred to travel by this road still farther to the west, but we had no water and were concerned about our pack camels, which had gone straight ahead to Palmyra. For that reason, at 12.10 P. M. we turned east through the white plain al-Ḳâ'. To the right of the steep, rocky wall of the Marbaṭ al-Ḥṣân now appeared the fort Ḳal'at eben Ma'an. Palmyra itself was hidden by the double-peaked spur of al-Muntâr. At 1.05 we ascended the height of an-Nwejšer and sighted the first sepulchral towers of Palmyra. On the south, at the southeastern foot of an-Nwejšer, runs the strong fresh water spring of Abu-l-Fawâres, the water of which flows away to Tudmor through an old but recently repaired aqueduct. We rode alongside this aqueduct through a partly cultivated plain until 1.50, when we watered our horses. Mounting them again at 2.24, we were at Tudmor by 3.20. Nâşer had already arrived there and behind the Moslem cemetery in the Sûḵ al-Barrâniĵje had rented for us a spacious courtyard with two vacant rooms, in which we made our quarters.

TUDMOR TO AL-BḤARA

The Tudmor settlement belonged to the sanjak of Dejr az-Zôr, the government representative there being the *mudîr*, who was not at home at the time of our visit. As his deputy paid no attention to us, we were left entirely free. We learned that northwest of Tudmor the clans of the chiefs Mazhûr eben Teli and Me'ġel eben Sened of the 'Umûr tribe were encamped in about one hundred tents and that they had good she-camels which they had received in exchange from the 'Aneze Bedouins. Acting on this information, we made it Nâşer's business to go and see them the next day, while we went to examine the ruins of al-Bḥara.

On Thursday, March 21, 1912, at 6.23 A. M. we rode out from the Sûḵ al-Barrâniĵje on the horses hired in the settlement of al-Forkłos, making our way between the gardens of Tudmor, which are fenced in by high mud walls and irrigated by the lukewarm creek, Nahr al-Balad. In nearly all of these gardens barley was sown, Tudmor being a very favorable spot for its cultivation. The gardens were also full of olive trees, with some pomegranates, pears, apples, and date palms. The dates ripen here, but do not taste as well as the Šetâta dates. Nor can they be compared with the dates from the depression

of Sirĥân or those of the oasis of al-Ġowf. But by far the best product of Tudmor is the olive, famous far and wide for its juiciness and pleasant taste.

At 6.43 we left the gardens west of the isolated ruin of Kaşr 'Anên, a building Palmyrene in origin but later changed into a Christian monastery. We then passed through the sandy fields of ar-Rmîl, which extend west as far as the foot of the huge dome of al-Munţâr.

The hillocks of al-Kâjez join with al-Munţâr on the south, merging with the Hejjâl ridge on the southwest and then continuing farther in the same direction. The gap Tenijjet al-'Edeje separates the Hejjâl mountain from the rocky heights of al-Akţâr, which form on the east the long low Ummu-r-Ruĥi. Northeast of Ummu-r-Ruĥi is the rise of al-Mefâze, west of which flow the springs of al-Kşejbe, aş-Şağara, and Zebâra. The salt marsh al-Malaĥ, which extends west as far as these springs, is passable in the dry season by several paths. We made a detour northwest of the gap Tenijjet al-'Edeje at a place called at-Tabtab and at 8.17 came to the ridge of Ummu-r-Ruĥi. On the southwest the Hejjâl ridge sinks to the spur of as-Seklâwijje; beyond this opens out the long valley of al-Ĥallâbât, which is bounded on the north by the mountain chain of ar-Rawâĥ and on the south by the lower ridge of Abtar and its northeastern spur of aş-Şa'îrât. Far to the south the low haze-covered scarp of al-'Elejjânijje loomed above the horizon, with a vast plain spreading out in front of it. The dark hill Tell al-Frej rose in the southeastern part of this plain.

Making a turn to the southeast, we met a group of about twenty Tadâmre, or inhabitants of Tudmor, seated on donkeys. They were going south in search of *kema*^o (truffles).

From 9.30 to 11.40 we stayed at the al-Bâzûrijje ruins. These are situated southwest of the rise of al-Mefâze and consist of several buildings, all of them in a state of great dilapidation. Best-preserved are the foundations of a huge structure at the eastern end of the ruins (Figs. 33, 35), which forms a rectangle 53 meters long from east to west by 48 meters wide. The gate is on the south side. East of the building stands a house in the form of a square of 17 meters to a side, with an entrance at the south.

On the west side of the ruins is another building in fair condition (Figs. 34, 36). It is a rectangle 63 meters long from east to west by 29 meters wide. The east and west sides are strengthened by two rounded towers. The arched gate opens from the east into a yard, where there is a natural well. At the southeastern corner is a strong tower and north of it the foundation walls of other ruined buildings. Near the ruins is

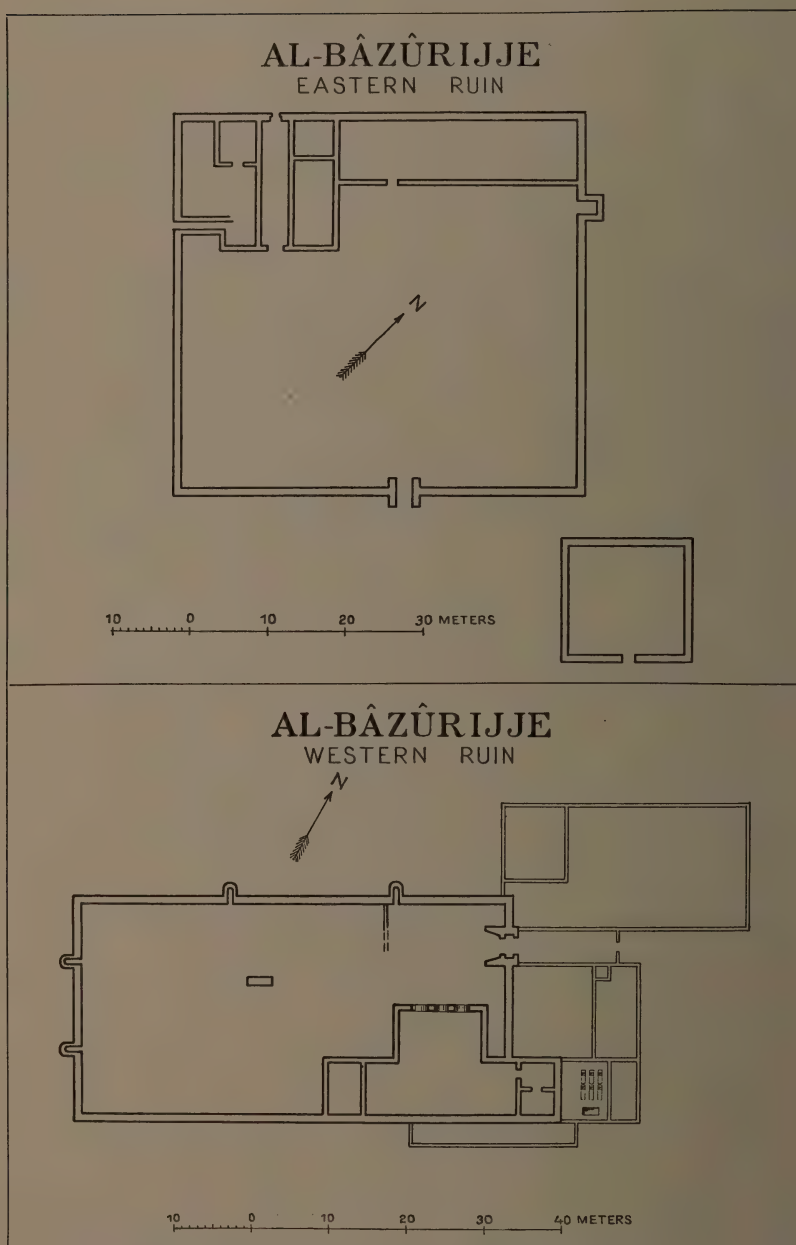


FIG. 33—Al-Bâzûrijje: eastern ruin.

FIG. 34—Al-Bâzûrijje: western ruin.



FIG. 35



FIG. 36

FIG. 35—Al-Bâzûrijje: eastern ruin.

FIG. 36—Al-Bâzûrijje: western ruin.

an old cemetery. All the graves had been opened and robbed. At twelve o'clock we reached the Hîrbet al-Hân, where we stayed until one o'clock (Fig. 37).

After that we went over a plain which slopes to the south-east. It seemed as if the terrain south and southeast of us

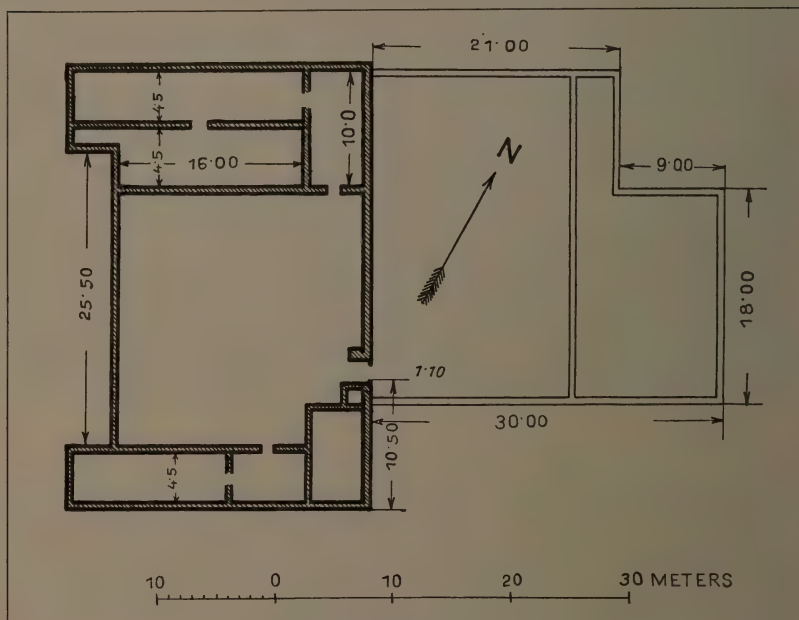


FIG. 37—Hîrbet al-Hân, plan.

were covered with water, this appearance being caused by a stratum of vapors which from time to time enveloped the whole country in such a way that the al-Frej hill alone rose above it like an island. At 1.28 we came to a large cemetery where the graves, dug in stony ground, were variously ornamented, plastered with mortar, and covered with large slabs of dark stone. In 1908 all the graves were still untouched, but by 1912 about two thousand of them had been broken into and parts of the skeletons lay scattered among them. Our guide told us that, some time before, the *fellâhîn* of as-Suhne arrived unexpectedly, put up their tents, and began to dig up the graves. One of them had happened to find a precious stone, at which the rest began to search in the other



FIG. 38—Al-Bḥara, plan.

graves too and took all they found. About three hundred paces west of the cemetery is a small heap of old brickwork covered with basalt sand. A few paces farther west begin the ruins of the former town of al-Bhara, which consisted of a fortified



FIG. 39—Al-Bhara, a capital.

camp and a large settlement to the north and south of it. These ruins measure over one kilometer in diameter. Quite striking in the ruins are the numerous column heads and ornaments in the Palmyrene style; also the large, roughly hewn stone blocks which were used in the buildings, but which today are so completely scattered that it is impossible to determine even their ground plan with any degree of precision.

The fortified camp at al-Bhara is 159 meters long from west to east by 105 meters wide (Figs. 38, 39). From each corner projects a rounded tower. Two similar towers stand on each side. The eastern tower on the south side alone is square, but it seems that it was rebuilt when the inhabitants of the neighboring settlement put up their huts within the camp itself or close by. The distances between the several towers are not the same. From the east an ornamental gate leads into the yard, where could be seen three wells and heaps of *débris* both large and small. The largest building, hence the castle (*ḡaṣr*), probably stood as usual in the center or somewhat to the south, where the *débris* is piled up the highest. There are many wells in the vicinity of this camp.

All of this tends to show that al-BĦara must once have been a rich flourishing town. It was built on the northeast foot of the spur of aš-Ša'îrât and it, not Palmyra, dominated the desert that extends to the south. South of al-BĦara there are only two small, now ruined settlements — al-Bĥêra about two kilometers to the southwest and al-Mlêke about twenty-two kilometers to the south-southwest.³⁷

³⁷ The ruins of al-BĦara I take to be the classical Goaria.

Stephen of Byzantium, *Ethnica* (Meineke), p. 210, writes that Goarene is a place in Arabia not far from Damascus and that it is also called Goaria.

Pseudo-Dionysius of Tell-Mahre', *Chronicle* (Chabot), p. 33, records that the caliph Walid II was killed near the town of KWRJ, a word which could be read as Koare or Koaria. The Greek *g* is often used instead of the Aramaic or Arabic *k*. We know from the Arabic sources that Walid II was slain near the settlement of al-BĦara, and there is no other source which contradicts the identification of Goaria with al-BĦara.

CHAPTER IX

AL-BĦARA TO AR-REŞÂFA BY WAY OF ĞEBB AL-ĶDEJM

AL-BĦARA TO TUDMOR

The guide urged us to return to Tudmor; therefore we left al-BĦara at 3.52, going north-northwest. On our left we saw the demolished residence of al-Hazîm — or, as the ‘Aneze call it, as-Sikkerijje — and came at 5.15 to the likewise ruined camp and watering place of al-‘Edejje.³⁸

The sun had been sinking for some time, but the columns in Palmyra still shone white. At 5.40 we found four fallen milestones which we turned over with a great effort. Three of them were quite crumbled away, and the inscriptions were illegible; on the fourth only one word was distinct: “Constantino.” At six o’clock we started off again; some fifteen minutes later we saw a milestone lying on the ground and after another quarter of an hour came upon one standing, although broken, and one lying, without any inscriptions

³⁸ I identify the spring of al-‘Edejje with the ‘Wdâje’ of the early authorities.

Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* (Chabot), Vol. 4, pp. 323 f., and Barhebraeus, *Chron. syriacum* (Bedjan), pp. 85 f., relate that in the twenty-seventh year of the Emperor Justinian, al-Mundîr, whose mother’s name was Şakîka, was pillaging the territory of the Roman Empire. Al-Hâret, son of Ğabala, attacked, defeated, and killed him by the spring of al-‘Wdâje’ in the administrative district of Ķinnesrîn. Al-Hâret’s son Ğabala perished in this battle and was buried by his father in a shrine of the castrum of ‘Wdâje’.

Liber chalipharum (Land), p. 13, records that al-Mundîr died in the month of June, 554.—

The *w* in the Syriac ‘Wdâje’ can only signify the vowel *o* (pronounced *e* in the modern dialect). Al-‘Edejje lies in Palmyrena, which belonged for the most part to the administrative district of Ķinnesrîn.

Other writers (Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 74; Vol. 3, pp. 756 f.; Vol. 4, p. 211) call the place where al-Mundîr fell ‘Ajn Ubâr, a short day’s march from Ķajjâd, which some write Ķajjâş. —

About fifty kilometers north of al-‘Edejje is the mountain of al-Ķêz and twenty kilometers away in the same direction are the hills of al-Ķâjez, the names of both resembling closely the classical Ķajjâd. Fifty kilometers is a short day’s march for a swift camel rider, and twenty kilometers is a short day’s march for a migrating clan. Like al-‘Edejje, both al-Ķêz and al-Ķâjez are situated near the road from northern Syria to inner Arabia. We might therefore look for the ‘Ajn Ubâr in some of the springs about al-‘Edejje. This location of the ‘Ajn Ubâr would seem to be confirmed by statements quoted by Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 756 ff., that it was once the abode of the Amalekites. The Arab tradition might easily have confused the Amalekites with the Palmyrenes. Our location of the ‘Ajn Ubâr is not affected by another report (*ibid.*) to the effect that it lies beyond al-Anbâr on the road running along Euphrates to Syria or to Damascus. From Bagdad a road led by way of al-Anbâr along the Euphrates as far as ar-Rahba, where it turned west toward Damascus or central Syria, running either through al-Ķâjez or al-‘Edejje according to the direction it followed beyond Palmyra. Al-Mundîr fought with al-Hâret (Procopius, *De bello persico*, II, 1) for control of the region about the Roman road called Strata south of Palmyra; hence it is possible and quite credible that he may have been defeated and slain at the site of the present al-‘Edejje near this Roman road.

whatsoever. It grew dark so suddenly that we could follow our guide only with the greatest difficulty. At 7.42 we at last reached our quarters at the Sûḵ al-Barrânijje. Nâṣer reported that he had found twenty good she-camels, of which we could easily buy nine—just what we needed.

Friday and Saturday, March 22 and 23, 1912. On Friday forenoon we sketched a detailed plan of the ruins of Palmyra and the near vicinity. Unfortunately this painstaking work came to nought, since we lost all the sheets forming the basis of an accurate plan when we were attacked and robbed by the Ṣammar on May 28 following.

Saturday at noon Nâṣer brought the she-camels, which he had bought in the camps of the chiefs Mazhûr eben Teli and Me'ḡel eben Sened. In the afternoon he marked them with our brand (Fig. 40), while we arranged our baggage in the meantime. The mounted gendarme of Tudmor was to accompany us as far as Dejr az-Zôr, and therefore we had to take along barley for his horse. For our guide we hired a native.

The modern settlement of Tudmor has about 350 houses, divided into ten groups or *ḥârât*:

Ḥârât as-Selḵa	Ḥârât al-Ḥandaḵ
„ al-Ḳaba'a	„ aš-Šjûḵ
„ Beni Ḥammûd	„ al-Barrânijje
„ al-Kible	„ an-Nḡêre
„ az-Za'âbne	„ al-Bajâder.

Mḥammad eben 'Abdallâh is the chief.

The gardens are divided into a northern group called Basâtîn al-Ḳena' and a southern group, Basâtîn Nahr al-Balad. The northern gardens are irrigated from al-Ḳena', which brings the water from Abu-l-Fawâres; the southern from the lukewarm Nahr al-Balad. All the gardens are irrigated every twenty-fourth day, the water standing twenty-four hours in each. Formerly the water was cheap, but now anyone starting a new garden acquires a perpetual lease for a payment of twenty Turkish pounds (\$90) per hour. The output of the gardens falls short of what the inhabitants need, causing them to buy not only wheat but barley flour as well. One *roṭol* (2.56 kilograms) of wheat flour sells at seven piasters (31.5 cents), of barley flour at four or five. Bread is baked mostly from the *dera'* (a kind of millet) flour.

As to cattle, the Tudmor people breed principally donkeys and cows. A female ass costs from three to four Turkish

pounds (\$13.50—18.00). The males are cheaper because the country people prefer the females; consequently the males are bought only by the wandering peddlers to carry their wares. A cow sells at from two to six pounds (\$9—27) a



FIG. 40—Branding a camel.

head. There were only five horses in all Palmyra, the breeding of them proving unprofitable owing to the dearness of the feed. For the proper feeding of a mare one *mudd* (16 liters) of barley is needed every two days, which costs from fifteen to sixteen piasters (67.5 to 72 cents). Hay for the cattle is cut in the hills in the springtime, and in the summer the inhabitants pluck leaves and the offshoots from the trees, especially the terebinths, and dry them. But the main source of the Palmyrenes' income is the salt which they gather in the near-by salina, disposing of it again to the *fellâhîn* from around Homs and Hama' either for money or in exchange for wheat and barley.

TUDMOR TO ĠEBB AL-KĎEJM

Sunday, March 24, 1912. On Sunday morning we led our camels from the yard through the ruins as far as the foot

of the hillock of al-Munţâr, where we took to our saddles. The camels went along quietly, and therefore at 6.57 A. M. we could gaze for the last time at the remains of the once proud and powerful city of Palmyra. Descending slowly, we reached the junction of the *šēibân* of al-Ķanâter and ad-De-mûs at 7.35 and at 7.43 crossed the aqueduct of Abu-l-Fa-wâres in a northwesterly direction, taking the road Darb al-Mizra'a, which leads to the fields in the lower al-Abjaz valley. These fields depend upon the moisture from the rains only; for this reason they are called *ba'l* (sun-fields), because, when the rain is insufficient, they may easily be destroyed by the sun. Anyone can cultivate a piece of land for himself if he wishes to. If he does it for three successive years, the land becomes his property (*mulk*). If it rains enough in March and April, the crops are good; if it fails to rain in April, the grain is quite poor; but if there is no rain in March also, the grain dries up before it can ripen; the peasant then loses his seed, and his hard work goes for nought.³⁹

To the south were seen the conical crests of Mounts Hejjâl and al-Ġurnijje, and even of as-Seklâwijje; to the north the dome of the shrine al-Mizâr Mhammad eben 'Ali and above it the red rocky sides of the Ṭâr an-Nwejşer and Marbat al-Ĥşân. The country was deathlike. The only living beings we could see were three Tadâmre walking behind a donkey carrying two earthen pots filled with tar. They were looking for the camps of the Nu'ejm Arabs, whither they were going in order to cure the latter's camels of the mange. At 8.43 we reached the top of the height of at-Tenâja, which is a southwestern spur of the Ṭâr an-Nwejşer. On nearly every hilltop were seen heaps of stones or the remains of watchtowers. In front of us was the mighty range of al-Abjaz, which falls off on the east with a steep wall but sinks more gradually to the southwest and sends to the southeast a sharp crag towards which we were heading.

The nearer we approached, the more distinctly could be seen the groups of trees in the western part of the al-Abjaz mountains. These are especially numerous on both sides of the Wâdi Dekâra, which ends in the lowland of al-Eĥĉej. At

³⁹ Smith, *Religion of the Semites* (1914), p. 97, is mistaken when he writes that the Arabs do not associate Ba'l's animating power with the rain of heaven but with the springs, rivers, and the subterranean water. Just the opposite is the truth. If the rain is not adequate, the soil suffers from lack of moisture, the underground waters as well as the springs and wells get quite dry, and all life perishes.

9.04 we entered the wide *še'ib* of al-Mizrâb, which joins that of al-Abjaz and forms a large, partly cultivated plain.

Al-Mizrâb rises in the range of Abu Riġmên on the southern slope of the al-Morâr mountain and winds from the waters Bijâr Šajjâh through the 'Anêtid basin between the mountains of aš-Ša'ara and Marbaṭ al-Ḥṣân on the west, and the Ṣahrat al-Bedr, al-Raṣṣâbijje, and al-Mizâr on the east. The *še'ib* of al-Abjaz comes from the north-northeast and runs along the eastern foot of the range of the same name. This was originally connected on the southeast with the Marbaṭ al-Ḥṣân hill, but the narrow link between them has been worn through by erosion so that the crag of al-Mkêṭi'a on the west and the steep sides of Marbaṭ al-Ḥṣân on the east are now separated by the channel of al-Abjaz.

Southwest of this rift Mazhûr eben Teli of the 'Umûr tribe was just then camping. The moment he sighted us he leaped on his mare and, waving his spear, came to us at a gallop, inviting and begging us to descend at his tent as his guests. Unwilling and unable to waste time, we thanked him for his courtesy and, continuing on our way, at ten o'clock entered the upper valley of al-Abjaz through the opening to which we have just referred. The southern part of the rift is narrow, with high walls of white rock on both sides; but on the north the gap widens, opening into a gigantic basin which slopes gradually upward to the north and is surrounded by rolling highlands. This basin was once inhabited.

From 10.35 to 2.00 o'clock we stayed among the 'Antar ruins at the waters of al-Ḥafâjer, where we found a marble column with a Greek inscription. The ruins are covered with a layer of earth and sand. To the east of the basin above a well rise the walls of an-Našmi, behind which loom the dark red peaks of aš-Šaфра', and still farther the rather low white cones of al-Habijje, in which there is a spring of the same name. Southwest of al-Habijje project the al-Ḳawâ'ed mountains and northeast of them the mighty crest of aš-Ša'ara. At three o'clock we reached the extensive ruins of al-Ḥêrem, situated near a spring of the same name below the high butte of Rušm at the eastern foot of al-Abjaz.

At 4.10 our guide showed us to the northeast of aš-Ša'ara the flat ridge of Ḥawijjet ar-Râs and nearly north of us the well of al-Mellûhi. At 4.50 we pitched our camp by the spring of ad-Dnên on the slope of the al-Ḥonšor mountain.

On Monday, March 25, 1912, we continued our march at 6.30 A. M. in a northerly direction. At 7.10 we saw north of us in about the center of the eastern slope of al-Abjaz a

green meadow irrigated by the spring of al-Wešel, on the side of which is a small ruin.⁴⁰

West of al-Wešel begins the valley of al-Mâsek, which, under the name of *Dekâra*, borders the lowland of al-Eḥcej. It is separated from the Bijâr Ġĥâr by low hillocks. From 7.12 to 7.40 we drew water from the spring well of al-Manâşre near the Bîr Ḥnêfes. Passing at 9.28 by the well of Ḥamûd, we entered into the *še'ib* of al-Btêḥi, with its deep channel eroded out of yellow clay mixed in some places with fine gravel. The valley is wide, enclosed by moderate slopes overgrown with *erbijjân*. To the northwest stand the wooded cones of al-Mra°. From 10.08 to 12.28 P.M. we remained at the brackish wells Bîr Slêm. At 1.32 we reached the wide, shallow *še'ib* of at-Turkmân, where terebinth trees thrive especially well. At 1.42 we had the old, deserted well of al-Kudmijje on our left. The rain coming down suddenly, we had to pitch our tents at 2.20, leaving our camels to graze on the abundant plants about us.

Tuesday, March 26, 1912. It was very cold. We rode away at 6.25 A. M. over a wide, clayey basin, reaching at 7.10 the ridge of at-Turkmânijje (also called Abu Tummên), on which rises a stunted cone covered with ruins, the mighty ramparts of which were overshadowed by terebinth trees. The old well had caved in. At 7.25 we rode past the ruins of the small settlement of Dubejs south of the head of the Aḥejzer valley, which disappears in the basin of al-Kḍejm. All the ridges are wide and undulating. Terebinth trees grow everywhere, making the country look like a vast natural park. Their fruit is picked for the oil it contains, which the settlers use in preparing food, the Tadâmre even preferring it to olive oil. The terebinth resin is also gathered and sold at Aleppo. From all sides resounded the "huf-huf! huf-huf!" of the hoopoes searching the trunks of the terebinth trees. Our guide asserted that in summer the districts north of Tudmor swarm with gazelles, but that, on the other hand, these animals are rarely seen in winter or spring, when they remain in the neighborhood of al-Ḥamâd. Not until all the grass there has wilted and dried up do they return to Palmyrena, which, with its more adequate moisture, keeps the grass in good condition until late in the autumn.

⁴⁰ This spring may be identical with the al-Waşal mentioned by Jākût (*op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 930) who writes that Abu Maşûr, while in the desert, saw the al-Waşal mountain, from which water dripped and gathered at its foot.

From 8.30 to 9.10 we stayed at the large al-Bwêza ruins, which belong to the Mahârše family of the ʿUmûr. Here we had a splendid view over a whole stretch of country. To the southwest we saw the hills of Škâķijje, which form the



FIG. 41—Kdej m basin: our camp.

northeastern spur of the al-Abjaḡ mountains. The hills of Škâķijje are connected with the low, white hillocks of al-Mraʿ which on the south close the basin of Durmand. Northwest of Durmand rose the domes and cones of the al-Fâsde, al-Ḥarbaḡa, and Umm ʿAjjâš mountains, and northeast of the latter were visible the six isolated, stunted cones of al-Jetîme and Ašâbeʿ Kdej m. Beyond Umm ʿAjjâš to the north and northeast lay a vast plain strewn over with low buttes. On the plain there glistened like white threads the dry channels of several watercourses and numerous large and small rain pools (*ḡabâri*). Northeast of al-Bwêza emerged the ridges of al-Morâr, al-Lâbde, and al-Mķejbre, with the al-Ḥmejde pass opening to the east.

At 10.16 we passed on our right the high Riḡm Saʿadûn. We were now riding on the broad flat crest of Abu Riḡmên. By 10.20 we had crossed the road leading from the al-Kdej m wells through the aš-Šaʿara and al-Raššâbijje mountains to

the waters of al-Ḳaṭṭār near the Ḥullet al-Waraḳ ruins. From 11.40 to 1.50 P. M. we let our camels graze on the edge of the *še'ib* of ad-Defâ'i and then descended north toward the basin of al-Ḳdejm. Here and there were groups of boulders, which had rolled down at different times, and groves of terebinths with steep cliffs rising above them. We met about fifteen *nawar*, or gypsies, the men and women alike wearing narrow trousers; the women were seated on donkeys and the married women had their heads wrapped in black shawls. They drove about twenty kids before them, their reward for having entertained the *fellâhîn* and goat and sheep breeders, who camp with their flocks in Palmyrena during the winter season. At 3.50 we entered the basin of al-Ḳdejm, which is shut in on the west by the low, reddish-brown hillocks of Abu Tummên, Ebrêrît, and Umm 'Ajjâš; on the north by al-Jetîme, Aṣâbeḥ Ḳdejm, and aṣ-Ṣwâne; and on the east by the ridges of al-Morâra and al-Lâbde.

ḠEBB AL-ḲDEJM TO AR-REṢĀFA; THE ḤADEDIJJÎN TRIBE

At 4.42 we rested by the remains of a small fort on a hillock. In the basin of al-Ḳdejm (Fig. 41) the al-Bu Ḥasan clan happened to be camping just then; southeast of them were the tents of the al-Ḡerrâḥ family, and still farther south those of the 'Anâtre family of the an-Nwejhât clan, all belonging to the Ḥadedijjîn tribe, who cultivate land in and about several hamlets northeast of Ḥama'.

The Ḥadedijjîn tribe has about two thousand tents and is divided thus:

al-Kwame	(head chief: Nawwâf aṣ-Ṣâleḥ)
al-Ranâtse	(„ „ Sfûḳ ar-Raḡw).
Clans of al-Kwame:	
Abu Kenš	al-Ḡmejle
Abu Šlejbi	Âl Ġemlân
Abu Ku'ejrân	Âl Marâsa
Abu Fâtla	Âl Ġawâli.
Clans of al-Ranâtse:	
al-Bu Ḥasan	Kijâr
Abu 'Atejri	al-Abraz
Abu Šihâbaddîn	al-Ġaffâtîn
Abu Tâben	Abu 'Atab
an-Nwejhât	al-Ma'âzi
Awlâd 'Ali	al-Bu Rḥama.

We pitched our tents near the 'Anâtre camp at 5.25 and sought a guide; but there was not a single man there who

knew the topography of this part of the country. In the evening we determined the latitude.

Wednesday, March 27, 1912. We had to draw water, which cost us a great deal of time, as the Ḥadedijjîn were watering their herds. There are six wells in the basin, each about eight *bâ'* (c.16 meters) deep and all having fresh water. It was about eight o'clock before we left. North of the wells on a hillock lies a pile of old building material. On the south the basin is bounded by the mountain mass of Abu Riġmên, which is cleft by the deep pass Ri' al-Hawa separating the mountains Ḥawijjet ar-Râs and al-Morâr. East of Ḥawijjet ar-Râs stands the low pyramid of al-Ḳlej'a and farther east the summits of Umm 'Aşûr.

In the aş-Şwâne hills we met a traveler, a native of as-Suĥne, who gave us the names of the various mountains and valleys while he rested with us from 9.50 to 10.55 east of the well Ġibb Râr. He would have liked to accompany us, but my companions begged me not to take him, because his left cheek was disfigured by leprosy, of which they were horribly afraid. Nâşer would not even give the poor fellow a sip of tea and finally, when he had to do it, he marked the tin cup, not putting it back among the other kitchen utensils. He feared contagion, although it is said that leprosy in Syria is not contagious.

The well Ġibb Râr is located in a *še'ib* of the same name, which begins in the basin of al-Ḳdej̣m and is joined there by the *še'ibân* of Aĥej̣zer, Naşabt al-Ĥşûni, and ad-Defâ'i. This *še'ib* separates the hills Aşâbe' Ḳdej̣m and al-Ĥaşşâbij̣je from aş-Şwâne and al-'Afuwij̣jât and disappears in the plain of al-Metâj̣ih. At eleven o'clock we entered the *še'ib* of al-'Wejr, where our camels grazed from 12.30 to 2.45 P.M. on *ġamba*, *wraġa*, *ġa'ade*, *ribla*, *zejte*, *şilwa*, *raşa*, and *zrejme*, while in the meantime we sketched a map of the neighborhood. To the east we saw the cone 'Orf Twênân, north of which begins the *še'ib* of the same name, in which there is also a spring well. This *še'ib* of Twênân connects northeast of Zel' an-Na'âm with the *še'ib* of al-'Wejr and ends close by ar-Reşâfa. After four o'clock we saw large flocks of sheep belonging to Syrian traders who had bought them from the Dlej̣m tribe on the middle Euphrates and were now driving them to the Syrian markets. Their herdsmen were all Dlej̣m. At 4.25 we camped not far from them, bought a wether, and had a good supper.

On Thursday, March 28, 1912, at 6.30 A.M. we set out northward, riding through a rolling country into which penetrate the spurs of the mountain range to the south. The valleys are here broad and white, the limestone slopes completely bare.

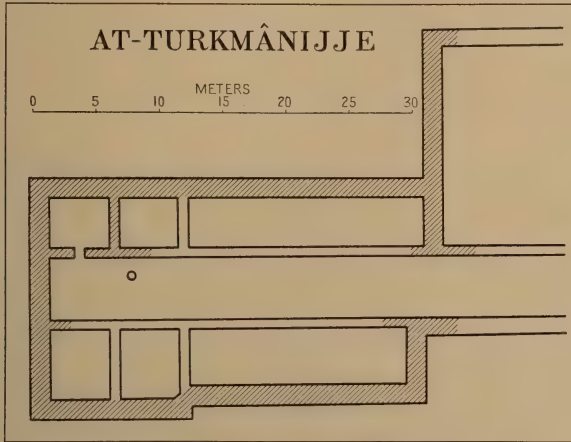


FIG. 42—At-Turkmâniyye, plan.

On the left we saw three different ridges. The western one, Ḥeşjân al-ʿEjr, is made up of flat-topped hills; the central one, al-Ḥaşšâbijje, forms a crest etched out by numerous gullies; and the eastern one, al-ʿAfuwîjjât, which was nearest to us, consists of a row of hillocks with narrow, sharp crests. From 7.20 to 7.38 we let our camels graze. We were now approaching a chain of hillocks stretching from east to west, on the northwestern side of which there stands the building of at-Turkmâniyye, where we rested from 10.54 to 1.11 P.M.

The air was filled with the smell of putrid flesh. Reaching the top of the hill about twenty-five meters above the northern plain, we saw not far below us on a terrace hundreds of dead, decaying sheep. A road favored by the sheep traders leads past at-Turkmâniyye, running from the middle Euphrates to Aleppo and Hama'. At the end of February there had been a heavy snowfall, which lay ten days on the ground, and a trader who had brought his sheep as far as at-Turkmâniyye at that time had lost the entire flock, the animals dying of hunger.

At-Turkmâniyye (Fig. 42) is a structure built of roughly-hewn stone; above the well-preserved door it is ornamented

with a cross. In ruins for the most part, it seems to have been a monastery in times past.⁴¹

North of at-Turkmâniyye the run-off makes its way through the *še'ib* of aş-Şafja between the heights of al-Ḥrejbe and Ṭarak Ambâğ into the *še'ib* of Selmâs and the Euphrates. On the west and southwest spreads an endless, undulating plain, thus giving at-Turkmâniyye a dominating position over the whole country for many kilometers around.

From at-Turkmâniyye we headed northeast, making all possible speed, since no pasture for our camels was anywhere to be seen. At four o'clock we came across a few green patches of the *erbijjân* in some shallow pans and also sighted eight gazelles, the first wild animals we had met thus far. This was a sign that all of them had not left Palmyrena for al-Ḥamâd as yet. At 4.42 we made camp.

On Friday, March 29, 1912, we were on the road as early as 6.10 A.M. At 6.38 we passed through a tract of lowland, where the yellow blossoms of the *erbijjân* formed a thick carpet, giving out a pleasant odor at every step of our camels. From 10.25 to 11.20 our camels grazed. We then rode across the plain of al-Ḳwâr through a camp of the Walde half-*fellâhîn*, who breed goats and sheep and cultivate land on the right bank of the Euphrates west of al-Kasra. Three girls were gathering fuel: old camel manure and the dry stems and roots of tough perennials, which they had to tear out of the ground by main force.

At 12.13 P.M. the ruins of ar-Reşâfa appeared in the distance, producing a striking effect in the midst of the vast plain. The walls overtopped the horizon, seemingly larger than they actually are. The church of St. Sergius resembles a mighty castle, and the remains of the other buildings charm the traveler's eye and excite his curiosity. As we approached, masses of dense, dark gray fog were hovering above the deserted town, intensifying still more its mysterious aspect. At 2.30 we finally reached the ruins and encamped by the southwest corner of the walls; then, after a hasty inspection of the site of the town, we started work at once.

In the evening the Emir (as we called Prince Sixtus of

⁴¹ At-Tabari, *Ta'rîḥ* (De Goeje), Ser. 2, pp. 1896f., writes that Merwân II marched from al-Kastal via Sûrija and Dejr al-Lataḳ to ar-Ruşâfa. —

The locations of al-Ḳastal and ar-Ruşâfa are known. Sûrija is identical with Serija, or Esrija, thirty-five kilometers northeast of al-Ḳastal; Dejr al-Lataḳ is to be sought in our ruined monastery. It received its name at-Turkmâniyye probably from the Turkomans, who held the surrounding territory in the thirteenth century.

Bourbon) wanted to make his bed in a vaulted room under a corner tower. I tried to dissuade him from this idea, calling his attention to the danger threatening not only himself alone but all of us should we be attacked in a closed-in place. I pointed out the risk of building a fire and lighting our electric torches under the vaulted ceiling, because the light would shine through the few narrow loopholes and thus be visible from afar. Furthermore, the floor of the room was covered with the offal of birds of prey and other kinds of birds which nested in the loopholes and cavities of the vault. But the Emir, afraid of the impending rain, would not budge. Consequently we had with some difficulty to clear a part of the room, where we made our beds. We lit a fire outside, in front of the entrance of the room, and after eight o'clock put out our lights.

At midnight a few stones were thrown at us through the loopholes, but luckily none fell on our heads. Then a shot was fired. Seizing our rifles, we ran out of the vault and hurried as quietly as possible to the nearest opening in the walls, let ourselves down into the moat, turned west, and made for the tower. Several black figures moved quickly past the tower and disappeared below the western wall. The intense darkness prevented us from seeing anything, and sleep was out of the question; therefore we carried our blankets up from the room and remained outside, the better to guard our beasts and baggage. The attackers did not return.

AR-REŞÂFA

Ar-Reşâfa⁴² lies at the very point where the undulating plain of al-Ĥwâr merges into the lowland of al-Hôra.⁴³ The site of the town is enclosed by walls 577 meters long on the north, 361 meters on the east, 591 meters on the south, and 417 meters on the west, enforced by powerful towers at each corner and smaller ones on all sides. The walls are narrower above than below and carry a parapet about two meters high, with loopholes, behind which the defenders could walk about and repulse the attackers (Fig. 43, 44).

From the town side the walls were ascended by numerous stairways. On the north (Fig. 47), east (Figs. 45, 48, 49, 50), and

⁴² On ar-Reşâfa see also above, pp. 64—67.

⁴³ Classical writers call the surroundings of ar-Reşâfa "the Barbarian plain," Barbarikon Pedion (Procopius, *De bello persico*, II, 5, 29; Theophylactus Simocatta, *Historiae*, V, 13: 3). The *Peutinger Table*, Segm. 10, uses these words: *fines exercitus syriaticae et conuertium barbarorum*.

south (Fig. 46) sides stately gates led into the town, the most splendid being the northern gate (Figs. 51, 52, 53, 54, 55). It was from that side that the martyr Sergius came to ar-Reşâfa, and before the northern gate he was tortured to death.



FIG. 43—Ar-Reşâfa: the northeastern part of the walls from the southwest.

Both to the right and left of the gate in the northern wall is a narrow inside passage (Fig. 56), allowing one to walk around the entire fortification (*propugnaculum*) which protects the gate on the north side.

Most remarkable within the walls were the huge ruins of three Christian churches and of some dwelling places. Apart from these, everything has been completely demolished and strewn about. Amidst the débris a broad avenue 28 meters wide and running from the north to the south gate could be discerned. Arcades lined it on both sides, each arcade having once been covered by an arched roof supported by columns rounded on the sides toward the avenue and forming rectangular pillars on the opposite sides. Between the arcades and the houses were sidewalks 1.8 meters wide. At several points branching off from the main avenue to the west and east are traces of streets with ornamental columns. In two places we found the remains of triumphal arches. The first was built not far south of the northern gate and led to the martyrty (Figs. 57, 58, 59, 60).

The roof of the latter was originally supported by twenty-two columns, but only the eastern part of the building is left standing, where especially strong earthquake-proof walls were

necessary to support the vaulted roof of the three apses at this end. The vaulted dome of the main apse reached up to the level of the roof and was faced by a fine wall. On either side of the main apse stairways 70 centimeters wide with steps 25 centimeters high and treads 25 centimeters broad led to rooms built above the two side apses or *diaconica*. Some time after the original building was completed, the great windows on the east side of the *diaconica* were walled up to the middle and an additional structure three stories in height added on this side. In this structure the ceilings of the first and second stories as well as the roof rested on timber rafters, for the ends of which holes were made in the church wall. The top story of this structure was reached by a wooden stairway at the south side of the right-hand, or southern, apse.

Farther south, almost due north of the southern gate, rises the ruined tower of the largest church (Figs. 61, 62, 63, 64) in ar-Reşâfa. East of the main avenue on an extensive level surface above huge vaulted crypts, which may have been used as cisterns, was built a basilica with five aisles, each ending on the east with ornamental apses. Unfortunately the only parts of this church that have been preserved are the southern end of the main apse, the two southern apses, and the tower, the ruins of which are about fifteen meters high. Of this tower twenty-five layers of stone masonry, each 45 to 65 centimeters thick, are still standing. A spiral stairway in the tower led to rooms above the domed vaulting of the main aisle and above the apses. The ceilings of these rooms as well as the roof were supported by timber rafters. The windows were grated. As far as could be judged, the tower was originally at least twenty-five meters high and afforded a splendid view over the vast plain.

East of this basilica stands the largest monastery of Sergiopolis, as ar-Reşâfa was once called. This one was inhabited longer and repaired more frequently than any of the others and, hence, together with its church, is the best preserved of all the monuments in the town (Figs. 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71). The church of today shows unmistakably two or three kinds of building material. It has three aisles originally separated merely by piers on which rested high arches. Some time after the building was completed in its original form the support of these high arches was reinforced by the insertion within each of two smaller arches resting in each case on three por-

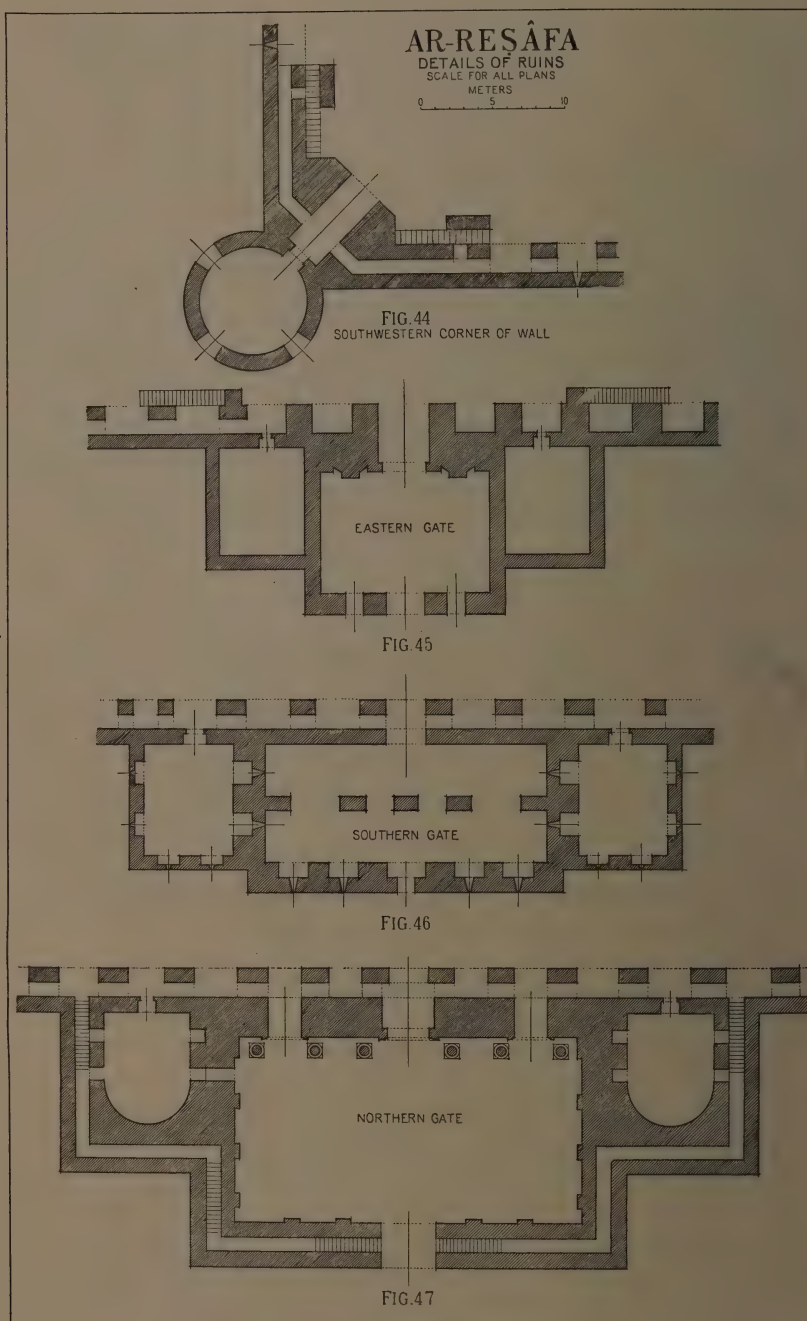


FIG. 44—Ar-Resâfa: southwestern corner of wall, plan.

FIG. 45—Ar-Resâfa: eastern gate, plan.

FIG. 46—Ar-Resâfa: southern gate, plan.

FIG. 47—Ar-Resâfa: northern gate, plan.



FIG. 48

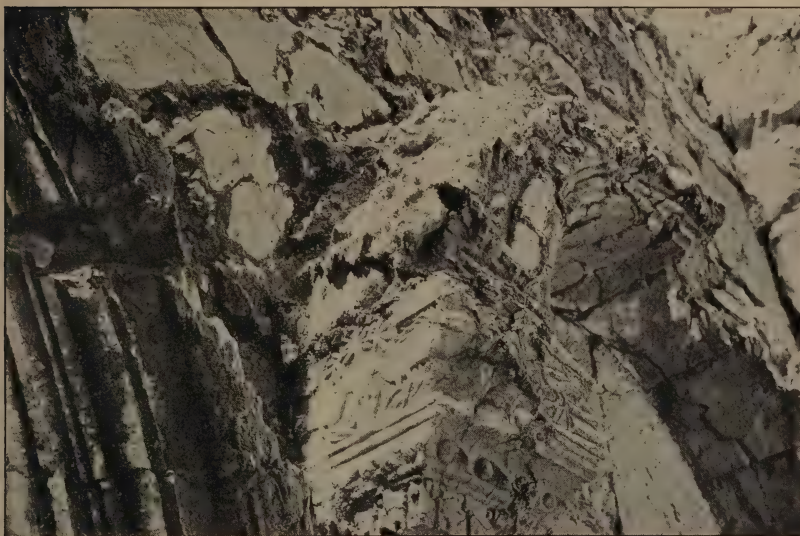


FIG. 49

FIG. 48—Ar-Reşâfa: eastern gate from the east.

FIG. 49—Ar-Reşâfa: eastern gate, a capital.

phyry columns 2.1 meters in circumference (Fig. 72). Of the bases of these porphyry columns no traces whatever have been left. These smaller arches supported horizontal tiers of stonework, and the spaces between these tiers and the high arches

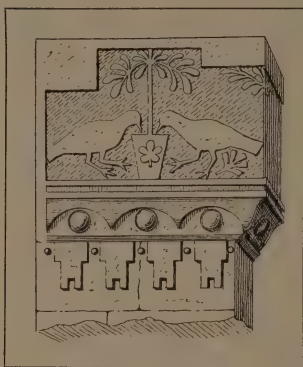


FIG. 50—Ar-Reṣāfa:
eastern gate, a capital.

were filled with bricks. Timber rafters upon which rested the ceilings of the side aisles were supported by the lesser arches. Each side aisle originally ended on the east in a high, vaulted apse built of bricks (each $49 \times 37 \times 3.5$ cm.) separated by layers of white sepiolite. Above the concha of the southern apse twenty-two rafters (each about 25 cm. thick) supported a layer of sepiolite bricks four centimeters thick, forming the floor of a large room, the roof of which was also supported by rafters. Subsequently, within each of the high apses there was inserted at

a lower level a vaulted ceiling made of rubble and decorated with colored garlands.

Both aisles were painted, and a panel in the southern apse was ornamented with pink and white mosaic, in which the letter A, made out of the white stones, has been preserved. In front of the apse of the main aisle there was a tomb, to which the relics of St. Sergius were transferred. This tomb was encased with slabs of porphyry three centimeters thick.

The main aisle projects as a clerestory above the side aisles, the clerestory windows being ornamented with small columns 35 centimeters in diameter and the clerestory itself being built of bricks ($24 \times 24 \times 4$ cm.). Both the north and south walls of the side aisles of the church as well as of the monastery are propped up by huge buttresses (Figs. 73, 74), filled with rubble. In the inner west wall of the church, above a walled-in door, a stone was placed with an inscription stating that the monastery church was repaired by the metropolitan Simeon in 1093. In that year all the relics of the earlier ecclesiastical edifices of Sergiopolis were undoubtedly brought to this church. The porphyry slabs, with which the tomb of St. Sergius is encased, as well as the porphyry columns supporting the vaulted ceilings of the side aisles, came from the martyrty. In 1910

people from ar-Rakka and as-Suhne carried on a treasure hunt in the martyrty, on which occasion they dug out small porphyry columns, slabs (Figs. 75, 76), and many other ornaments identical with those which we saw in the monastery church. The bases of the large porphyry columns are still visible in the martyrty, and that the columns were rolled away from here to the monastery church can be easily proved, since some of the fragments and one capital are still lying in the road over which they were rolled (Fig. 77). The less strongly built martyrty was destroyed by earthquakes in the tenth and eleventh centuries; and, even if it had been restored, it could not have withstood another shock of that kind. Therefore it was not again repaired after the earthquake of 1068. It was then that the columns were rolled into the monastery church and the new tomb of St. Sergius decorated with the plates and ornaments from his older tomb.

Among the Moslem buildings a mosque east of the martyrty is still partly visible (Fig. 78). It looks as if it had been vaulted. Both the roof and parts of the upper walls have fallen in, filling the inside two meters deep with débris.

The cisterns in ar-Reşâfa are without number. Usually two or three are close together, over four meters deep, and vaulted, with small round holes in the vaults through which the water was drawn. The south gate was walled in and the space between it and its outer defensive walls converted into a reservoir, the vaulting of which was supported on five brick pillars. Cisterns of gigantic size were built in the southwestern part of the town (Fig. 79), and those about eighty paces from the southwest corner are still well preserved. The northern cisterns are of an earlier date than the southern ones. They were filled with water from a rain pool constructed 450 paces west of the walls. This pool forms a square of 160 paces and is enclosed by a wall eighty centimeters in thickness. Southwest from it stretches a dam over six hundred paces long. Here the rain water was checked and made to flow into the pool and thence into a canal, which led it off again to the moat, over five meters wide. The water was then carried across the moat on an arch protected by two towers; thence it flowed through an opening in the wall north of the third tower from the southwest corner, whence it fell into the cisterns. In the wall above the inlet is a niche with an inscription, no longer legible.



FIG. 51.—Ar-Reşâfa: northern gate from the north.

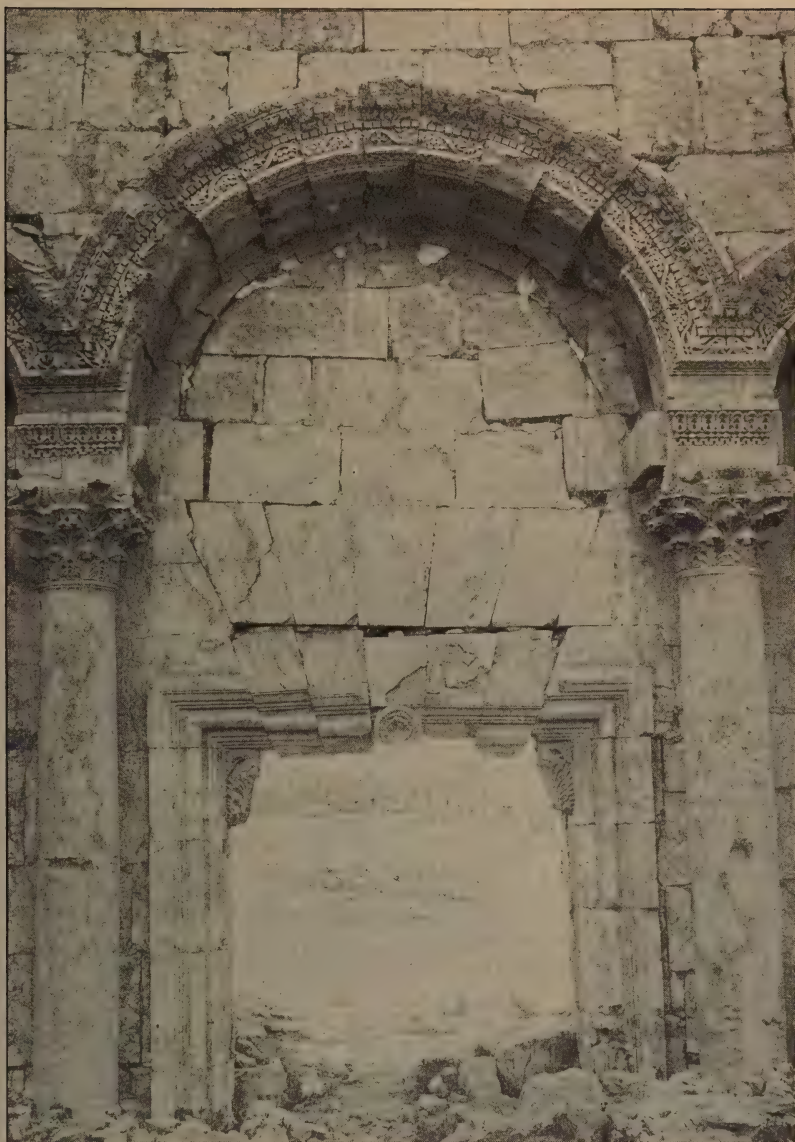


FIG. 52—Ar-Reşâfa: northern gate, middle door.

Outside the town, in front of the north gate, is a small church, the northern part of which is in ruins (Figs. 80, 81, 82). It had three aisles running into apses, vaulted over by



FIG. 53



FIG. 54

FIG. 53—Ar-Reşâfa: northern gate, east portal.

FIG. 54—Ar-Reşâfa: northern gate, details.

four small domes and one high one. The nave did not have a flat timber roof but a vaulted one which had been painted. Above the windows of the main apse is a short Greek inscription imploring victory for Alamundarus, a Christian king



FIG. 55—Ar-Reşâfa: northern gate, *propugnaculum*.

of the Ghassanians. South of the church was either a well or a very deep cistern, and north of it was once either a big caravansary or a monastery. To the east extends a large Christian cemetery. This was still intact in 1908, but in 1912 we found all the graves opened and plundered.

North of the town both to the right and left of the Roman road are the remains of numerous tombs (Fig. 83). I found the Moslem cemetery northwest of the northwest corner of the town. Many graves are encased with slabs of burnt clay, on which are incised maxims from the Koran, such as are also found on the tombstones. For the most part, these graves had been rifled before 1908. They were overgrown with *nejtûl*, in which and under the stones hide countless adders.

East and southeast of the town are the stone quarries from which the white, alabaster-like building material was taken for the walls and most of the houses.

Saturday and Sunday, March 30 and 31, 1912, we spent working in the ruins. We examined the ground plans and our sketches made in 1908, prepared the elevations of some buildings, made a detailed plan of the whole town and its vicinity,



FIG. 56—Ar-Reṣâfa: inside passage along northern walls.

drew and photographed various ornaments, and cheerfully expected soon to be in possession of a really substantial basis for the solution of various scientific problems. But Allâh decided differently. The principal plans and sketches we kept in a special tin box, which we did not send from al-Ḥammâm to Aleppo but took along with us to Irak. All was lost when we were attacked by the Šammar on May 28. The fruit of our labors in 1908 and 1912 was destroyed; only the sketches and memoranda in our diaries were saved.

Nobody disturbed us in our work except on March 30, when a few robbers brought some cows they had stolen to the town. One of them drove his three cows into the ruins through a breach in the southern wall, strayed into our midst, and was captured. His companions, who were waiting in the moat along the southern wall, being thus warned, ran off to the east and disappeared in the dark quarries and caves there. Our gendarme took possession of the robber's revolver, a heavy hatchet (*klenk*), and the cows; he wanted to bring the thief fettered to the gendarme station at al-Ĥammâm. But, being short of water and not liking to irritate his companions, we preferred to let him go. The gendarme then ordered him to go north as fast as he could, threatening to shoot him if he turned east, in which direction the other robbers had fled. The captive promising readily, the gendarme posted himself, carbine in hand, at one of the western towers to see where the robber was heading for. At first he went northwest, then, after about five hundred paces, he turned east, thinking that a Martini, the ordinary rifle of the gendarmerie, would not carry so far; but he ran like a gazelle northwest again when he heard the whistling of a bullet fired from a Mannlicher.

The gendarme was not a little proud of having made a show of his authority and also of having possessed himself of the revolver and the three cows, which he did not intend to return without the customary finder's reward. But with the approach of evening he became more reserved, fearing the revenge of the robber's companions; and he warned us to prepare for defense. As he could not sleep all night, he sat down by the southwest corner tower and kept a sharp watch, not letting the slightest noise escape him. Whenever he thought that he heard a suspicious sound, he crept towards us, whispering that the enemy was coming. We hardly slept at all. On the morrow the gendarme kept watch all day again, and on Thursday night the experiences of the preceding night were repeated. Our water was nearly gone; the cows were lowing with thirst; the camels would not graze, suffering from thirst also; therefore nothing was left for us but to go to the Euphrates, although we should have liked very much to stay at ar-Reşâfa two days more in order to examine the neighborhood more thoroughly.

CHAPTER X

AR-REŞÂFA TO DEJR AZ-ZÔR; AL-BİŞRI

AR-REŞÂFA TO AR-REĤÛB

Monday, April 1, 1912. At 1.25 (temperature: 1.25° C) we left ar-Reşâfa by the northern gate. The channel of as-Sêle near here was visible in some places but in others it disappeared into the ground. At two o'clock we noticed on our left a well and on our right a cistern. The town was soon lost to view behind a broad rise. From 5.00 to 5.10 we stayed in the Kaşr ad-Daḥal, a medieval freehold or monastery, and sighted to the west low ramparts, possibly the remains of a square fortified camp with numerous semicircular outbuildings, perhaps towers. Not having a drop of water left, we could not make a stop. At six o'clock we reached the top of a high knoll, whence we observed before us the two domes of the Tadejjên ruins and far beyond them a mountain range in Mesopotamia, enveloped in a violet haze. In the eastern sky the nearly full moon hung as high as the sun in the west. We did not feel the moist breeze coming from the river until 6.40, and at seven o'clock we encamped on the bank close to the water (temperature: 20° C).

It was not without difficulty that we unloaded our baggage, since the thirsty camels were panting for water. The bank on which we made our camp was only twenty meters wide (Fig. 84). To the south rose the steep scarp of the al-Mezâbe' upland to a height of about forty meters above the bank, which fell away on the north five meters to the river. The run-off had made for itself a deep channel in the clayey part of the slope, extending over the bank right down to the water's edge. Through this channel the sheep, goats, and possibly the cows of the neighboring half-*fellâhîn* went to the water to drink. They had made it so slippery that the soft hoofs of our camels found no firm footing there, and we were fearful lest some of them might fall into the water. Therefore, we first made them kneel down; then we fettered their legs, and, after cleaning the slippery part of the channel, let them go to the water, two by two. We did not go to sleep until midnight.

Tuesday and Wednesday, April 2 and 3, 1912. We visited with our guide the big al-Hnejda ruins, the two old ruin heaps of Tadejjên, which are formed like a woman's bust, and the remains of various houses and buildings. East from Tadejjên there is the gendarme station of al-Ḥammâm, close to which there had been built a large khan, several stores, and a small house, the residence of the superintendent of the post and telegraph office. We made an agreement with the owner of the khan to have him send to Aleppo by the next dependable carrier the photographs that we had taken. Then we collected plants, examined them, and made our saddles and baggage ready for our further journey.

Wednesday, April 3, 1912. At 1.55 o'clock we left the Euphrates and passed through an undulating plain in a south-southeasterly direction. On our left was a row of hillocks rising above the al-Mezâbe' plateau and stretching south. At four o'clock our guide pointed out to us the small heap of the al-Hulmi ruins on the east, where the Abu Habâta valley rises. East of al-Hulmi the hills of al-Wtejd are located, and south-east of them is the isolated Tell al-Mhêra. We made camp at 5.23 in a sheltered hollow (temperature 27.5° C).

Thursday, April 4, 1912. We started at 6.12, going nearly due south. On the right of the sun we saw Tell al-Mhêra. At 6.36 we stopped for ten minutes at the waters of ad-Daḥal (Fig. 85). *Daḥal* is the Arabic term for doline, a hollow in the ground connecting with a cave into which the rain water flows from the surrounding country. Ad-Daḥal by which we now stood is about seventy meters deep, with its western side inclined in such a way that even a camel can walk down it. The cave is said to be over two kilometers long. In some places it is as much as twenty meters high and thirty meters wide, but in others it is only five meters high and eight meters wide. After heavy rains the water in it is sometimes two meters deep. The walls of the cave are of soft limestone. Turning southeast, at 7.12 we saw a dam and at 7.18 some old deserted gardens, from one of which a big lizard (*arwal*) ran out. At 8.16 we had on our left the height of Rġûm aš-Šîḥ and before us the rather low, but broad and long, irregularly-shaped hill of az-Zemle; east of this was the hill of az-Zmejli, with the deep pit or doline of al-Haba close by. At one time the 'Ebede, when camping not far away, were anxious to know what might be at the bottom of this



FIG. 57



FIG. 58

FIG. 57—Ar-Reṣâfa: martyry, the apse from the east.
FIG. 58—Ar-Reṣâfa: martyry from the southwest.

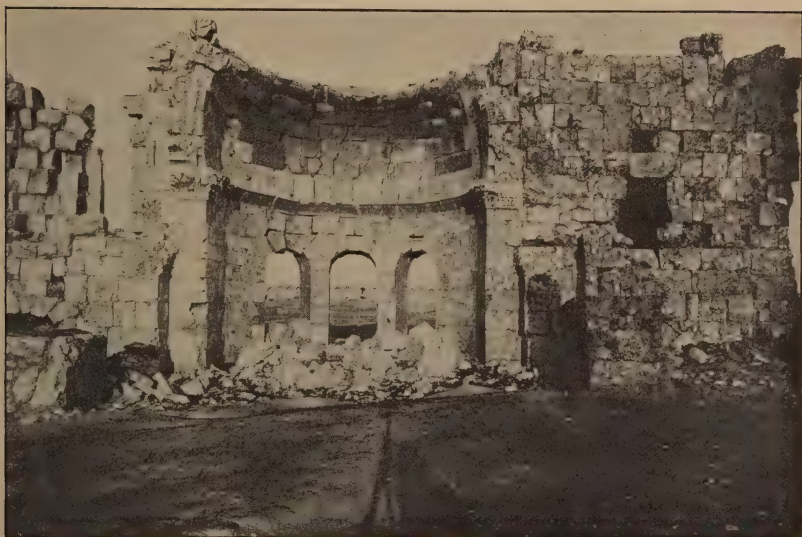


FIG. 59

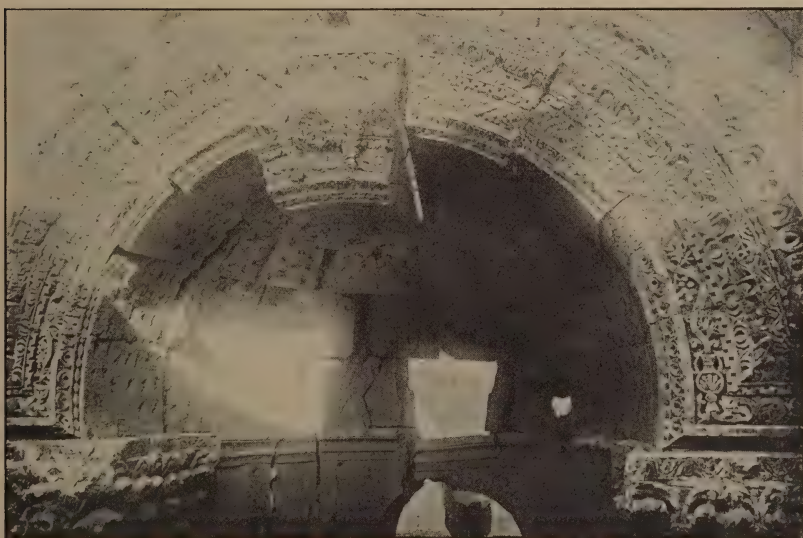


FIG. 60

FIG. 59—Ar-Reşâfa: martyr from the west.

FIG. 60—Ar-Reşâfa: martyr, arch and vaulting above *diaconicon*.

cavern. Tying together the girths and reins of forty horses, they fastened a saddle to this line, on which they let down a young fellow, who, however, did not reach the bottom. When they pulled him up again, the youngster was changed into a gray-headed old man. A similar but shallower cavern called al-Bêt lies northeast of the Tell al-Mhêra on the plain of al-Ḥkāf. The al-Biṣri ridge, rising to the south, had the appearance of a high, straight wall, on top of which a few cones were placed.

From 12.10 to 1.48 we rested east of al-Ḥulle by the hill of az-Zemle and the *radîr* or water hole of the same name in the channel of a short basin, which always holds the run-off for a long period. At 3.22 we reached an undulating basin near the Zemlet al-Kâ'ijje, where we encamped at 5.22. A heap of stones was seen to the southeast at the wells of ar-Reḥûb,⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Abu-l-Farağ al-Iṣbahāni relates (*Aṣṣānī* [Būlāq, 1285 A.H.], Vol. 11, p. 59) how the satire of the poet al-Aḥṭal insulted the chief al-Gaḥḥāf ibn Ḥukejm. This chief was permitted by the caliph 'Abdalmalek to collect taxes in the territory of the Tarleb. He therefore came in 692 A. D. with a thousand riders of his tribe to the town of ar-Ruṣāfa at one day's march south of the Euphrates. In the morning he made a surprise attack on the Tarleb camping at 'Āġinet ar-Reḥûb, where al-Aḥṭal also had his tent, and defeated them. Abu-l-Farağ adds that 'Āġinet ar-Reḥûb is supposed to have been the valley south of Ṣuhejn and al-Biṣr and that 'Omar ibn Ṣabbe calls this battle Jowm (Day) al-Biṣr or Jowm Ḥāġibet ar-Reḥûb (also Jowm Muğāšen), either after a hill near al-Biṣr or after the plain of as-Salawṭāh in ar-Reḥûb. —

The watering place of ar-Reḥûb lies 36 kilometers southeast of ar-Reṣāfa on the northern, not the southern, foot of the al-Biṣri ridge. Ṣuhejn is probably identical with the lowland scarcely two kilometers south of as-Reṣāfa. The localities Muğāšen (not Muğāšen, as printed) and as-Salawṭāh are to be looked for in the ridge of al-Biṣri.

Al-Aḥṭal, *Diwān* (Salhani), pp. 211, 239, 315, and al-Bekri, *Mu'jam* (Wüstenfeld), p. 580, mention the camping ground 'Āġinet ar-Reḥûb as being between Teni Muğāšen and Nāzirat al-Biṣr. — This Nāzirat al-Biṣr I identify with the mountain of an-Nāzra in the al-Biṣri range. The hill Gubejlat at-Tni right below this mountain is undoubtedly identical with the Teni Muğāšen. Near at-Tni there used to pass and still passes the easiest road across al-Biṣri.

In 954–955 the Beni Kilāb pillaged the country around Bālīs. Sejfaddowle, the lord of Aleppo, pursued and attacked them in the ridge of al-Biṣr between the watering places al-Rabārāt and al-Ḥarārāt, killing the men and capturing the women (al-Mutanabbi, *Diwān* [De Sacy] p. 3). — The watering place of al-Ḥarārāt lies in the al-Ḥarrār valley; al-Rabārāt I do not know.

'Omāra ibn 'Akil states (al-Bekri, *op. cit.* p. 179) that the al-Biṣr ridge stretches from west to east only a few parasangs south of the 'Āġinet ar-Reḥûb and that roads from Irak to Syria run through it. Damascus he places to the south of al-Biṣr. At al-Biṣr, al-Gaḥḥāf ibn Ḥukejm defeated the Tarleb on the "Day of al-Biṣr," or, as it is also called, the "Day of ar-Reḥûb," or of "Muğāšen," or "of as-Salawṭāh." Muğāšen, he says, is a mountain at al-Biṣr; as-Salawṭāh, a rocky plain (*merğ* or *lābe*) at ar-Reḥûb. The torrents from the ridge of al-Biṣr pour their waters into the 'Āġinet ar-Reḥûb only three parasangs from Ruṣāfa Dimaşk. At ar-Reḥûb the rain water collects, whence it runs off through several valleys to the Euphrates. Abu Ṣassān says (*ibid.*) that al-Biṣr lies at a distance of one day's march south of ar-Raḥḳa, but al-Bekri was of the opinion that this must be another al-Biṣr. —

'Omāra ibn 'Akil looks for 'Āġinet ar-Reḥûb three parasangs south of ar-Reṣāfa and a few parasangs north of al-Biṣri in a plain where the valleys which head in that ridge come to an end. This would fully agree with the vicinity of the Radîr az-Zemle, as is called the watering place in the plain into which run all the *še'ibān* coming from the ar-Reḥûb wells. This Radîr az-Zemle is situated seventeen kilometers south-southeast of ar-Reṣāfa and nearly the same distance north of the foot of the al-Biṣri ridge. After heavy rains, all the run-off from the valleys around collects in the plain in which lies the Radîr az-Zemle, whence it flows in part through the *še'f'* of al-A'wuğāt to the Euphrates. As-Salawṭāh is called both *merğ* (meadow) and *lābe* (stony ground); therefore it should be looked for in the stony plain between the Radîr az-Zemle and the Tell Fhede. Abu Ṣassān is right when he states that the distance between al-Biṣri and ar-Raḥḳa is a day's march; but al-Bekri errs in differentiating between this al-Biṣr and the one mentioned by 'Omāra. He does so, thinking that the al-Biṣr described by 'Omāra extends much nearer to Damascus.

some of which have caved-in. The best water is drawn from a well twenty-one *bâc* (c. 42 m.) deep.

The basin of al-Ķâ'ijje is bounded on the south by outliers of the hillock region of al-Bowlijjât, on the northeast by the



FIG. 61—Ar-Reşâfa: southern church from the southwest.

mighty elevation of Zemlet al-Ķâ'ijje, and on the north by az-Zmejle.

AR-REĤÛB TO ŠE'IB OF AT-TNI

On Friday, April 5, 1912, we were on the road as early as 5.45 and stopped at 6.30 at the foot of the al-Biřri ridge.

This ridge is separated by the deep rift of the al-Meleĥ and as-Sûĥ valleys from the Abu Riġmên. The Abu Riġmên sends into the rift a narrow ridge, on the western end of which lies the settlement of aṭ-Ṭajjibe, which is divided only by the channel of as-Sûĥ from the Zahrat al-Ĥarrûba, a part of al-Biřri. Al-Biřri extends to the northeast as a huge, generally flat-topped ridge, with, however, a few isolated domes on its top and numerous dry watercourses stretching northwest and south-

Jâĥût, *Muġam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 1, p. 631, records that the al-Biřr ridge, a possession of the Ṭaġleb, stretches from the settlement of 'Orġ in the Syrian desert to the Euphrates. Beds of bitumen, ocher, of the marl for making vessels for iron smelting, and of the white sand which resembles white lead and is used in the manufacture of glass in Aleppo are found here. The bitumen is exuded by the spring Ab-al-Žir.

Jâĥût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 789, looks for the locality ar-Rudâb in al-Biřri and also in the immediate neighborhood of ar-Ruřâfa, his opinion being that ar-Rudâb was the name of ar-Ruřâfa before it was rebuilt by the caliph Hiřâm (aṭ-Ṭabari *Ta'riĥ* [De Goeje], Ser. 1, p. 2073).

east from it. The western part of al-Bišri is called ad-Dîdi, northeast of which the ridge reaches its highest point in the cone of ad-Dabbe. Farther east are the three domes of Tlejtuwât, behind which the main ridge, Žetab al-Bišri, turns somewhat to the east. Al-A'jûgât is the name given to the northwestern slopes of the western part of al-Bišri; east of these are



FIG. 62—Ar-Reṣâfa: southern church, apse from the west.

the slopes of al-Bowlijjât; then follow the hills of Zemlet al-Kâ'ijje, Ab-al-Žîr, al-'Obêd, and as-Sirre. Along the western slope of al-Kâ'ijje winds the deep še'ib of al-Bowl, which begins in Tlejtuwât. On the northeastern slope of al-Kâ'ijje is the spring Ab-al-Žîr, which exudes from time to time small quantities of bitumen. At Ab-al-Žîr commences the še'ib of al-Ḥarrâr, on the eastern branch of which lies the heap of ruins Ḥajj Rummân with, north of them, the Radîr aṣ-Ṣlubi. At the eastern bend of Žetab al-Bišri is the spring aš-Šîzri.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Tiglath Pileser I (Annals, No. 2 [Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions* (1861—1884), Vol. 3, pl. 5, no. 2], obverse, l. 12; Budge and King, *Annals* [1902], p. 118) took possession of six towns in the land of Sûhi, all of them lying at the foot of the Bisuri mountains.

In 877 Asurnazirpal (Annals [Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pl. 24], col. 3, ll. 40f., 48f.;

Our guide refused to go any farther. Nâser and Mhammad went with one camel to bring water from the ar-Rehûb wells, but did not come back until one o'clock. They were delayed because the Walde half-*fellâhîn*, who just then happened to

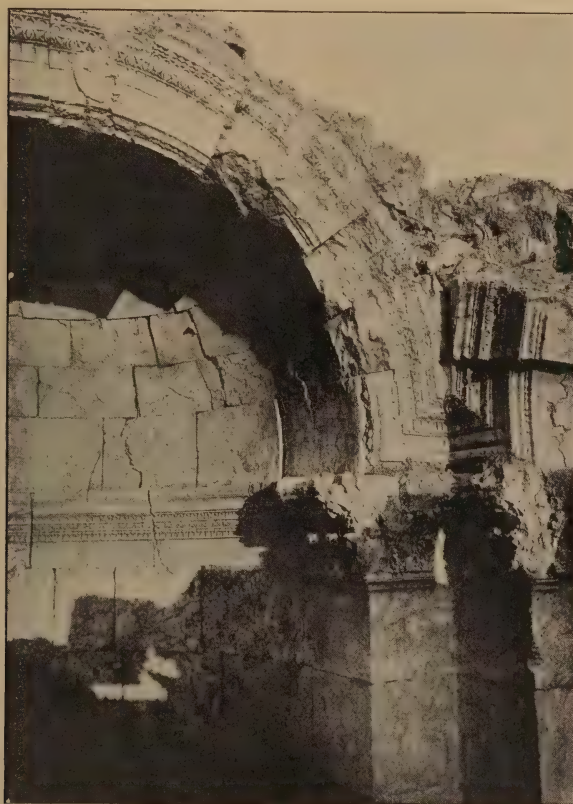


FIG. 63—Ar-Reşâfa: southern church, right *diakonicon*.

be watering their goats, sheep, and cows at ar-Rehûb — or, as they pronounced it, ar-Rehûm — would not let them approach the wells. At 2.18 we left, again going in an easterly direction.

After a while we were overtaken by two Fed'ân from a camp near Ab-al-Žîr, who gave us a good description of the

Budge and King, *op. cit.*, pp. 357 f., 360) pursued the rebellious natives in the desolate mountains of Bisuru and on the right bank of the Euphrates caught eight wild bulls alive and killed fifty.

The poet al-Aḥṭal, *Diwân* (Salhani), p. 134, says that the territory between Irak and al-Biṣr as far as Manbiğ (Hierapolis) belongs to the Tarleb.

road we had to follow. Likewise our gendarme, a native of Dejr az-Zôr, knew al-Bišri fairly well.

Rotting sheep were seen everywhere. We were told that in the first days of January snow fell all the way from al-Bišri to ar-Reşâfa and remained on the ground forty-five days. The half-*fellâhîn* and *šwâja* (breeders of goats and sheep) who did not take their flocks to the Euphrates in time lost all their property, it was said. The animals died of cold and hunger. At 5.35 o'clock we made camp in the *še'ib* of al-Bowl.

Saturday, April 6, 1912. We rode forth at 5.52; first through the al-Bowl valley until seven o'clock, when we reached the water parting of al-Bišri. The view northwards was not clear, owing to a dense haze enveloping the whole country. On our right were the three domes of *Tlejtuwât*, the middle one of which is cleft in two. These domes project about one hundred meters above the ridge. The valleys are wide and deep and the slopes grown over with grass. On the south of *Tlejtuwât* stands another dome, ad-Dabbe, and southeast of it stretches the broad, sloping plain *Ša'afet al-Bišri*.

At 7.26 we saw to the east the flat-topped crest of an-Nâzra, which is gashed by short but very abrupt gullies with deep limestone sides, and which forms the western boundary of the al-Faşşâjât district. We rode over a well-trodden path leading east-southeast. On the hillsides were seen hundreds of dead sheep, and in the river bed of al-Ġâjri carcasses were piled high. In one bend of the channel we also saw among the sheep three dead mules and even the gnawed skeleton of a small child. We were told that toward the end of February the snow had melted so fast that the tents of the poor half-*fellâhîn*, who had sought shelter against the freezing north winds in the deep gullies, floated away with the first rush of melted snow.

From 9.36 to 9.56 we let the camels graze in the *še'ib* of al-Ġâjri. After ten o'clock we encountered another enemy of the poor half-*fellâhîn*. Several grassy spots were swarming with tiny locusts, which, hatched from eggs laid the year before, were now feeding on and destroying everything upon which they hopped.

From 11.16 to 12.55 o'clock we rested; then we left the road leading southeastward through the valley and, turning east, passed over several low, table-shaped ridges separating wide, shallow valleys. At each prominent point were piled up

stones serving as landmarks for the migrating half-*fellâhîn*. We encamped at 4.38 o'clock in the *še'ib* of at-Tni, which heads at an-Nâzra. On its right slope looms the high dome Ġubejlat at-Tni, whence the Bedouins, camping at their outpost at aš-Šižri, keep a sharp lookout for the ever possible coming of a raiding troop from the south. Below the Ġubejlat at-Tni is the spring well of Ḥtêžân.⁴⁶

ŠE'IB OF AT-TNI TO DEJR AZ-ZÔR

On Sunday, April 7, 1912, we started at six o'clock (temperature: 10° C) but had to stop at 6.35 and wait till 7.15 because the wind was so cold that our fingers at once became stiff and numb. Not until the sun came out did the air grow warmer.

In the district through which we were passing rose many low flat-topped hills, between which appeared the vast desert to the south. Right at the foot of the al-Bišri range we sighted by the *še'ib* of al-Ķebâb the gendarme station of al-Ķebâžeb, which was built beside a well of the same name on the road Darb as-Sultâni running from Damascus by way of Palmyra to Dejr az-Zôr.⁴⁷

East of al-Ķebâžeb in the valley of 'Azâmân a Christian traveler lies buried, his grave being called, therefore, Ķabr an-Nușrâni (Tomb of the Christian). The white, desolate hillocks of Fejzat al-Rurr, with the high Tell al-Rurr rising among them, stretch to the east of this grave. At 10.12 we crossed the valley of Ġebb 'Azâmân, which comes from the steep,

⁴⁶ At-Tni I regard as identical with at-Teni, frequently mentioned in Arabic literature. Jākūt *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 937f., states that at-Teni is a place in al-Ġezire near aš-Šikri east of ar-Rușâfa, where the Tarleb and Buğejr assembled when they wished to make war on Ḥâled in the reign of Abu Bekr (see Musil, *The Middle Euphrates* [1927], pp. 309–313). But Ḥâled surprised them at at-Teni and completely defeated them.

Jākūt's text reads: "not far from aš-Serki, *serki* ar-Rușâfa." The first *Serki* is undoubtedly a misrendering of aš-Šikri, by which name the range and a spring north of Ġubejlat at-Tni are called. Aš-Šikri, like at-Tni, is situated east-southeast of ar-Reșâfa, which agrees with Jākūt's term "*serki* ar-Rușâfa" meaning "east of ar-Reșâfa."

⁴⁷ In pre-Islamic times the negro Arab as-Sulejk, son of the negress as-Salaka, captured No'mân, son of 'Okbân of the Kinâna tribe, and set him at liberty again. Years after, when as-Sulejk visited the camp of the Beni Kinâna at their watering place of Ķubâkeb beyond the al-Bišr range, No'mân offered him his two sons, chiefs among the Kinâna, and his daughter, declaring that the sons as well as the daughter belonged to him by right (Abu-l-Farağ, *op. cit.*, Vol. 18, p. 137). — The modern Ķebâžeb lies to the south, or, as viewed from the north, "beyond" the al-Bišri range proper (or, as it was formerly called, al-Bišr).

Jākūt, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 26, says that Ķubâkeb is a watering place of the Tarleb beyond the al-Bišr range in Mesopotamia. — Ķubâkeb was not in Mesopotamia but in the administrative district belonging to it.

According to Ḥalil ad-Dâheri, *Zubda* (Ravaisse), p. 117, Ķubâkeb was a depot for carrier pigeons. There was a tower there arranged in such a way that the pigeons could roost in it comfortably. In the tower were also cages, roosts, ladders, and provisions for both the keeper and his servants, who had immediately to send off the letters brought there.

reddish rocks of an-Nâzra on the north, and went on farther over the wide, slightly undulating plain, where from 11.15 to 1.45 o'clock we rested near the spring of aṭ-Ṭrejfâwi. At 3.16 we were nearing the end of the broad *še'ib* of al-Kṣejbe, when we saw on our left a gendarme station and a khan on the edge of the extensive cultivated fields irrigated by the springs of Kaṛḳûr and al-Kṣejbe.⁴⁸ Their owners are Saḥâne, or inhabitants of as-Suḥne.

After four o'clock a horseman appeared to the south; then a second, and before long six riders were heading towards us. They stopped but, on finding out that we were ready to defend ourselves, went away again. At 5.15 we made camp at the al-Meĉâtel hillocks (temperature: 14° C). On the south rose the height of al-Haba, and to the west and north glistened the white rocks of an-Nâzra, which form a sloping ridge, the eastern side of which looks as if it had been planed down. Above them all projects the high Žetab al-Bišri. We kept watch all night, feeling that the suspicious riders we had seen in the afternoon might come back to attack us.

On Monday, April 8, 1912, we were on the road at 5.58 A.M. At 7.20 we sighted on our left two extinct volcanoes and farther to the northeast two more, all of them called al-Ḥžêfât. At 8.12 we were on the height of al-Mâlḥa and could see the town of Dejr az-Zôr down by the Euphrates. From 10.15 on we rode along the Darb as-Sultâni highway. On our left were the stone quarries of al-Erhâm, and before us, beyond the river, spread an endless plain enveloped in a magic violet haze through which projected only the two volcanoes of al-Ḥžêfât. The plain was that of al-Ġezîre, Mesopotamia. At 10.28 o'clock we reached a cemetery with whitewashed tombstones on many graves and began to descend to the valley of the Euphrates, arriving before Dejr az-Zôr at 10.42 o'clock, when we encamped.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ In connection with al-Kṣejbe Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 126, mentions al-Kawâtel, al-Bišr, and ar-Raḳka. — The modern al-Kṣejbe lies on the southern foot of the al-Bišri range, through which a road leads to ar-Raḳka. The watering place of al-Kawâtel is 52 kilometers southeast of al-Kṣejbe.

⁴⁹ For the narrative of the continuation of this journey along the Euphrates as far as ar-Rumâdi, April 8 — April 21, 1912, see author's *The Middle Euphrates* (1927), pp. 1—34; for its continuation thence to an-Neġef or Mešhed 'Ali, April 22—April 26, 1912, see his *Arabia Deserta* (1927), pp. 357—373; for the return journey from an-Neġef through Mesopotamia to Abu Hrâra (on the Euphrates nearly due north of Tudmor), April 27—May 27, 1912, see his *The Middle Euphrates*, pp. 34—96. The continuation of the journey thence to Aleppo is narrated in the following chapter of the present volume.

CHAPTER XI

ABU HRÊRA TO ALEPPO BY WAY OF ZEBED

Monday May 27, 1912. At 1.28 we left the station of Abu Hrêra,⁵⁰ a gendarme and a reliable guide accompanying us, and went northwest along the cultivated flood plain of al-Meḥkân. At 1.48 we crossed the *še'ib* of Selmâs, which is joined by the short gully of as-Selmâni, and continued on our way over the plain of al-Ma'âṭa. On the right by the river bank in the field of Ḥamûd *dura* was being sown. Every water hoist was working to its fullest capacity, which means three seven-hour shifts, since each animal used at the hoists must be replaced after having worked seven hours.

At 3.40 we had before us the Razâle fields; on our left, in the bluffs of ar-Ruḳafa, was the deep rift of the *še'ib* of Mḥammad al-Kurdi; and in front of us the orange spur of ad-Dibsi, which shuts in the plain along the river. From 3.57 to 4.25 our camels pastured, and at five o'clock we left the plain and started northwest for the upland of Abu K̄bara, on top of which we encamped about four kilometers southeast of the Umm Ḥârûm ruins.

On Tuesday, May 28, 1912, we left camp at 4.55 and going west-southwest passed through an undulating clayey plain covered here and there with fine gravel and bordered on the south by the spurs of the al-Bišri and Abu Riġmên ranges and on the northwest by the basalt mesa of Šbêt and plateau al-Ḥaṣṣ. Broad swells projecting into the plain in several places prevented a full view. To the southeast was the low flat-topped rise Ṭaraḳ al-'Aṭfa and to the southwest the hills al-'Anz and al-'Anêza, which are broad but not high. West of the latter rose the white knolls of Ab-al-Rurr and north of these and of al-'Anêza the hillock range of Tlêlât al-Ḥumr, with the isolated domes of aš-Šejḥ, Ḥṣejfân, and the Tell Fuzza. Southeast of the last-named are the Medînt al-Fâr ruins. At 5.20 we passed al-Ḥrejbe, the ruins of a small building. At 6.30 we saw to the south the dark height of al-Ḥrejbe and the well of the same name in the *še'ib* of al-Ḥebâra, which merges with the *še'ib* of Selmâs.

⁵⁰ See footnote 49.

From 7.15 to 7.57 we let our camels graze in a basin by the hillock of al-ʿAnêza, which here forms the western limit of the Euphrates watershed. At ten o'clock the brown mesa of Šbêt was sighted to the west, with, behind it, the black and jagged al-Ḥaṣṣ; and in front of these heights glistened the white surface of the salina Mâlhat Ġabbûl. About four kilometers south-southwest of us was seen a pile of old building materials.

Our march was very fatiguing. We were alone, and there was nothing in the monotonous country to cheer us. Moreover, a dry and hot southeast wind, called by our guide *sa-mûm*, blew with an effect depressing both to man and beast. The air seemed to be filled with filmy golden veils, which obstructed the view as noon approached. Two camels became sick; as one kneeled down and refused to rise, we were obliged to rest from 10.30 to 11.20 and try to cure her; luckily we were successful: she was finally able to get up and we could continue on our way.

Passing through a deep valley, we sighted on our right at twelve o'clock two camel riders; a little later there were about ten of them in our rear, and before long we were surrounded by a troop of more than one hundred men. Defense was not to be thought of. Each of us carried about thirty rounds of ammunition, and there was more in the baggage; but we were down in a hollow, while the enemy had occupied the high ground all about us.

Ordering my men not to shoot, I cried out that we placed ourselves under the enemy commander's protection; but in vain. They threw themselves at us like so many wild beasts, tore us from our saddles, and took all we had on, even to disrobing us entirely.

The commander was not with the troop at the time but arrived in about half an hour with five other men, one of them an elderly negro, who on seeing me shouted to his master:

"Allâh protect us from all evil! Beware of punishment! Is not this Mûsa, the brother of Nawwâf eben Ša'lân?"

The commander bounded at the negro with the words:

"Thou art mistaken!"

"I am not mistaken, so help me Allâh! I am not mistaken."

I likewise protested that the negro was not mistaken, but the commander ordered me to keep still. At that moment our

guide from Abu Hrêra stepped up to him and declared that my name was Mûsa in fact and that we were under the protection of the Government, whose representative, the gendarme, was accompanying us. Instead of answering him, the



FIG. 64—Ar-Reşâfa: detail of a structure adjoining the southern church.

commander knocked the poor guide down with the stock of his gun, taking no notice whatever of the mention of the gendarme.

From the bits of conversation I overheard I learned that our enemies belonged to the Singâra and ʿAbde tribes of the

Šammar. Although both obeyed Eben Rašîd, they had to keep on friendly terms also with the emir of al-Ġowf, since they were wont to camp in the Nefûd, on which his territory bordered. Since my good friend Nawwâf eben Ša'lân was at that time



FIG. 65—Ar-Reṣâfa: basilica of St. Sergius from the southwest.

emir of al-Ġowf, I said to the commander: "Hear my words! Thy name I do not yet know, but I know that thy troop is made up of the Singâra and 'Abde, both of whom obey Eben Rašîd, to whom the Government pays a monthly salary for suppressing robberies. And now thy Singâra and 'Abde have robbed not only us but, in the person of the gendarme, the Government as well. I also know that thou and thy troop are afraid of Nawwâf, who is my brother; and you have robbed me, the brother of Nawwâf. Hear what I am going to do! I will request the Government to discontinue Eben Rašîd's pay until he has returned ten times what his Singâra and 'Abde have taken from us. And so that thou shalt not laugh at the Government any more, I will send a report to the emir Nawwâf at once, asking him to avenge the insult thou hast heaped upon his brother, Mûsa. And that Nawwâf will avenge me thou well knowest. This old man, a slave, will testify to that. By Allâh, I will do so!"

The commander then called some of his men together to confer with them. They came to me after a while with their decision, which was that all that could be found should be returned to us. First they gave us the papers; also the camels, with the exception of one that had disappeared with her load and which the robbers pretended not to have seen at all. We

had to look ourselves for our saddles. Two were gone and in their place we got old ones, very much out of repair. As for our arms, we received back two rifles but without ammunition. Our clothes the raiders simply put on. One wrapped three shirts around his legs, pulling two pairs of trousers over them, which he tied under his shirt with a belt. Most of the scientific instruments were damaged. When they wanted to see the contents of a barometer or camera, they simply broke open the instrument with a stone or cut it with a dagger and then gave it back to me. One of the raiders buried the theodolite and the best barometer in the sand, where we found them, undamaged by the merest chance. All the plants we had collected they threw on the ground for the wind to scatter. But the most galling for us was, and still is, the loss of all our ground plans and sketches of ar-Reşâfa, dating both from 1908 and 1912, as well as of the detailed plan of the ruins in the vicinity of Palmyra. These large sheets had been wrapped up and put into a special tin case, which was lost, like other things too numerous to mention. We did not get back any of the provisions at all, and the raiders also drank up all our water. When the sun began to dip down to the west, the commander demanded from me a written receipt stating that he had returned to me all that he had robbed us of. This, of course, I would not give. After long haggling we finally agreed that I should write that I had received what was found and that he would return the rest as soon as he could find it.

At last we could prepare for our departure, which took place at 8.30. We rode northwestward fast and silently, fearing that the raiders might attack and murder us at night. At ten o'clock a hyena, suddenly jumping from his den, scared our camels to such a degree that they galloped away like mad, causing us to lose many more things. Finally we calmed them with great effort, but the things they had dropped were gone for good. Night had long since set in and here we were, lacking both water and food. At midnight we reached the eastern edge of the Šbêt mesa and at 1.30 in the morning made our beds on a threshing floor near the settlement of Zebed.⁵¹

On Monday, May 29, 1912, early in the morning, Nâşer went and begged a little milk for us from the farmers of

⁵¹ Jākūt, *Mu'ğam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 2, 1914, writes that Zabad is a settlement in the territory of Kīnnesrīn, inhabited by the Beni Asad.



FIG. 66—Ar-Resâfa: basilica of St. Sergius, nave, looking east.



FIG. 67



FIG. 68

FIG. 67—Ar-Reşâfa: basilica of St. Sergius, nave, looking west.

FIG. 68—Ar-Reşâfa: basilica of St. Sergius, north aisle, looking west.

Zebed, who were camping near their threshing floors not far away. At 6.45 we left, setting our course as nearly northwest as we could without the compass. On our left were the dark brown slopes of Šbêt and on the right a white salt marsh. At 7.45 we were close to the north corner of the Šbêt mesa, whence we passed through the plain separating it from the range of al-Ḥaṣṣ, which we reached at 9.15 o'clock.

From 10.45 to 11.50 we rested beyond the hamlet of Umm 'Amûd. Nâşer and Mḥammad begged some bread and curdled milk for us, as we had neither provisions nor money with which to buy them. Having eaten, we looked each other over. The Emir (Prince Sixtus) had got back his shoes, trousers, and coat but was without a kerchief to cover his head. In place of one, he had made himself a headgear out of the dishcloth that Nâşer used when on duty, fastening it with a piece of string. My headcloth had been returned to me, but it had been partly torn during the quarrel. I, too, fastened it with string. I also had got my coat, but the shirt and trousers I could not discover; instead of this I found my Bedouin cloak, which I wrapped around me. This worked well enough as long as I was on the back of a camel, but when walking it was quite a bother. The Emir had a good laugh at me, comparing me with a sans-culotte. The rest of my companions looked just as funny; and yet we were all glad that nobody had been killed or wounded and that we had saved our diary and most of our photographs.

From 1.30 to 2.35 we halted by the settlement of Abu Derîh, from which Mḥammad brought us some bread. At 3.45 we reached the northwest end of the salina of Ġabbûl; from 4.30 to 5.10 our camels grazed; at 5.38 we entered the town of Sfîra, situated in the midst of large gardens and fertile fields; at 6.15 we crossed the creek 'Ajn Sfîra and made camp at 6.50 in a field not far from a small hamlet, where Nâşer and Mḥammad again obtained bread and milk for us by begging.

Thursday, May 30, 1912. By starting at 5.15 we reached Aleppo at 8.50.

P A R T III

1915

CHAPTER XII

AL-MESKENE TO DAMASCUS

Towards the end of 1914 I undertook an extensive exploring expedition to Neġd, from which, in the spring of 1915, I returned by the Pilgrim Road to al-Kûfa, and from there along the Euphrates to Syria.⁵² My scientific assistant was Karl Waldmann — whom we called Ḥalaf — an official in the Military Geographical Institute at Vienna; and my servant was Nâşer eben ʿObejd al-Marlûk from al-Žerjitejn. At first we followed the left bank of the Euphrates; but at Dejr az-Zôr we crossed to the right, and on May 25 reached Bâlis, the Barbalissus of old.

AL-MESKENE TO ĞABBÛL

On Wednesday, May 26, 1915, after spending the night in the fields near Bâlis, we stopped from 6.40 to 7.30 at the station of al-Meskene, where there are gendarme barracks and a big khân, the residence of the telegraph superintendent. Our camels grazed below the station on the fields of al-Işhâkijje; here an old canal, which branches off from the Euphrates, formerly irrigated the flood plain about the town of Bâlis. On a slope to the south are situated the hamlets of ʿAtşâne, Waẓḥa or al-Ğdejde, and Zeben. At 8.12 we sighted the ruins and hamlet of aṭ-Tannûze before us to the northwest on a bluff sloping towards the river bank. At 8.33 we crossed the *šeʿib* of al-Mellâḥ and ascended the bluff. On the right was seen the gravelly plain of al-Warde, which slopes gradually towards the Euphrates. Beyond it, to the north, were the hamlets of al-Bâbîri, aṭ-Trîd (built on a heap of ruins), al-Ḥabûbe, and the shrine of al-ʿArûde, which glistened white on a high hillock. West of these hamlets stretch the low hillocks of al-Ĉettâle.

Turning west, we rode over a rolling, rather stony plain, dotted with low domes, on most of which were the remains

⁵² The narrative of the author's journey from Damascus to al-Ğowf will be found in his *Arabia Deserta*, New York, 1927, pp. 375—474; that dealing with his explorations in Neġd will appear in his forthcoming volume, *Northern Neġd*; that treating the journey from al-Kûfa to al-Meskene will be found in his *The Middle Euphrates*, New York, 1927, pp. 99—193.



FIG. 69—Ar-Reṣāfa: basilica of St. Sergius, south aisle, looking west.

of oldbuild ings. The *šēibân* here were wide and shallow. At 9.25 a stiff wind began to blow from the west. At 9.36 we were among the knolls of aš-Ša'ar near the hamlet of Râs al-

‘Ajn, and at 9.48 we passed the Ḥân aš-Ša‘ar. On top of a hillock on the left of the šē‘ib of aš-Ša‘ar stands a square, half ruined building, formerly a gendarme station. A similar building could be seen to the northwest. Much of the level

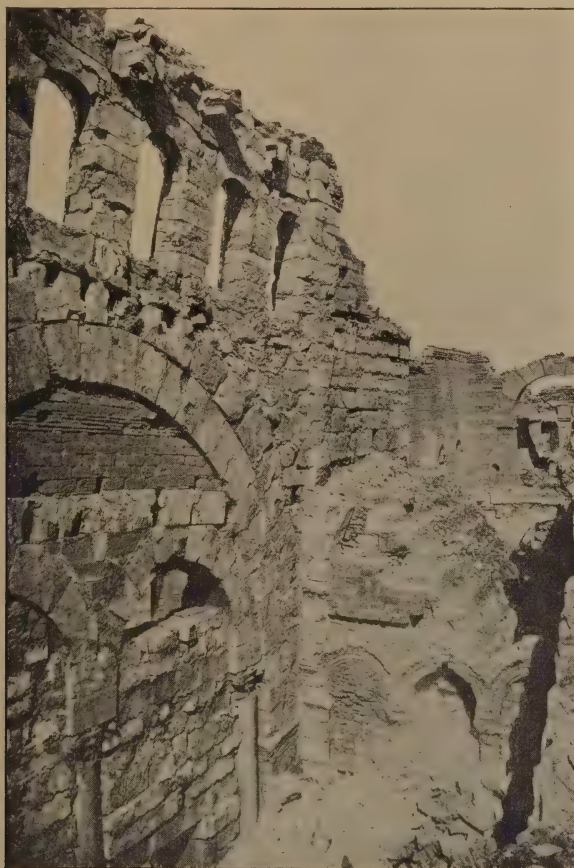


FIG. 70—Ar-Reṣâfa: basilica of St. Sergius, south aisle, looking east.

land in the neighborhood is under cultivation. At 10.25 our way took us through the fields of ad-Drûbijje, where the wheat, not of a very vigorous growth, was just ripening. At 10.35 we saw to the north the hamlets of at-Titen and Ḥafsa. From 11.08 to 12.35 we rested near the hamlet of al-Kšêš (temperature 25.3°C), the first human settlement with conical buildings that we had seen on our whole trip. Along the road

northwards stretches the big heap of ad-Drêsijje ruins, below which squats the hamlet of of al-ʿAṭṣân. To the southwest the horizon was shut in by two black spurs of the range of al-Ḥaṣṣ; to the north by the mighty hill Salma-z-Zôr; to the northwest of this by the lower Salma abu Ğadḥa; and to the west, in front of us, by the low but extensive dome of al-Mhadûm. At one o'clock we rode past the Ğerrâḥ ruins on our left; at 1.30 we passed to the right both of the hamlet of an-Nfâ'ijje and of three dome-shaped ruin mounds, Nhûd al-Banât, all of which have ruins on their summits. The time between 1.45 to 2.08 we spent at the ruins of al-Mhadûm.

These ruins were about four hundred meters long by three hundred meters wide. On their southern side rain wells had been dug to catch the run-off from the whole neighborhood. Right above them rises a knoll where there are the ruins of a former fortress and acropolis. At 2.15 we had on our right the new village of al-Mhadûm, which lies almost on the divide between the salina of Ğabbûl and the Euphrates. At 2.33 Mount Salma was in clear view with the high ruin mound of Abu Ğadḥa to the west of it. Farther west appeared the hill of Abu Bakr and farther northwest the as-Slejmi crest. South of Salma-z-Zôr cluster the conical huts of the hamlet of aṭ-Ṭannûze, and a little farther off lies the village of ʿAbbâce. South of Salma abu Ğadḥa the settlement of al-ʿAššîni is located; and south of the crest of as-Slejmi appears a heap of ruins by the hamlet of Za'râja. The hill Tell Fuzza was sighted to the south and west of it the hillocks Tlêlât al-Ḥumr and Tell Ḥṣejfân. North of the Tell Fuzza the hamlet of ʿAṭra showed faintly, with the Tell Ḥaṣṣân and the hamlet of al-Manṣûra to the west of it and the hamlet of Ķejṣûma north-east of al-Manṣûra.

At 2.40 we passed through the Tell al-Ḥamr ruins, with the hamlets of Abu Ḥanâja and Rasm al-Ḥamîs lying directly north of them. The Fedʿân call the settlements southeast of Aleppo Kerâja-l-Ḥsâf (Ḥsâf Settlements), after a high ruin mound that rises southwest of Tell al-Ḥamr. At four o'clock we were at the al-Muḵbara ruins, which form approximately a square with an acropolis in the western part. To the north were seen the hamlets of Ğfêle, Šengârijje, al-Ḥwêš, and Lâla; to the southwest the Ğafr ruins and the hamlets of Dhâm and Ḳamḳûm. West of the last-named, at the northeast corner of the salina Mâlḥat Ğabbûl, we saw the settlement of aš-Šrejme,

and north of it the settlements of al-Ġnejje and 'Aḳûle. To the south-southwest appeared the mesa of Šbêt, west-north-west of which rise the gradual slopes of the lofty plateau of al-Ḥaṣṣ, which was soon quite clearly in sight, with numerous domes projecting above its flat top. At 4.50 on our left was the hamlet of Umm 'Adasa nestling under big ruins; to the northeast was the hamlet of al-Ḥwêš, and to the north-north-west by the side of yet larger ruins appeared the hamlet of Lâla, from which flows a brook with evil-smelling water. This we crossed at 5.05. Above the eastern end of the ridge of as-Slêmi, which stretches from east to west, there rises a stunted cone. The mighty hill of Abu Bakr is cleft on the south. At 5.30 we had a splendid view both to the west and southwest and at six o'clock we encamped by the settlement of Dejr Ḥâfer near a vigorous spring the water of which flows into a brook that disappears after running for about two kilometers. Here we determined the latitude. (Temperature at 7 P. M.: 17° C.)

Thursday, May 27, 1915. Starting at 4.30 and proceeding nearly due south (temperature: 14°C), in half an hour we were at the hamlet of Umm al-Mara. Close by were the ruins of the same name enclosed by high square ramparts. Here we stayed until 5.27 and then went on west-southwest, passing through cultivated land all the time. On the south the whole country is dominated by the Tell Ḥsâf, which was probably once a border fortress between the country of the settlers and that of the nomads and from which the whole region took the name of Ḥsâf.⁵³

⁵³ The descendants of the famous warrior Maslama ibn 'Abdalmalek lived in Bâlis and an-Nâfûra. In 749 a company of the partisans of 'Abdallâh ibn 'Alī entered Bâlis and began to harass them in their stronghold there. The descendants of Maslama then complained to the chief of the Kinnesrin district, who was staying at the time at his country seat of Zerrâf Beni Zafar, or Ḥusâf. He made up a troop of his servants, with whom he attacked and slew the intruders to a man, including their leader. (Aṭ-Ṭabari, *Ta'riḥ* [De Goeje], Ser. 3, p. 52.)

Al-Iṣṭahri, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), p. 23, and Ibn Hawḳal, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), p. 29, place the desolate region of Ḥusâf between ar-Raḳqa and Bâlis south of the road leading to Syria through the Mesopotamian desert. There, also, on the Euphrates between ar-Raḳqa and Bâlis, is located the Šiffin district.

Jâkût, *Muḳam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 2, p. 441, writes that Ḥusâf is the name of the desolate region between Bâlis and Aleppo, known to the inhabitants of both towns. He asserts that it evidently once contained a great number of settlements, because their ruins still extend for a distance of about fifteen miles. Jâkût (*ibid.*, p. 965) relates that Zajd is a place not far from Ḥusâf, which was situated near the town of Bâlis in Syria, and cites Naṣr as saying that the place Zajd lies in the Merğ Ḥusâf in Mesopotamia near al-Ḥasa, and that a battle once took place there.

Al-Ḥazemi (*ibid.*, Vol. 3, p. 716) states that Kafr 'Ammâ is a region in the desert of Ḥusâf between Bâlis and Aleppo; Jâkût also asserts (*ibid.*, Vol. 4, p. 290) that Kafr Ramma is a region between Ḥusâf and Bâlis in the administrative district of Aleppo. — Ḥusâf is indeed a *merğ* (irrigated meadow), for quite a number of creeks disappear in it. Zajd was probably transcribed for Zabad, the name of a settlement lying twenty-two kilometers south of the Tell Ḥsâf.



FIG. 71



FIG. 72

FIG. 71—Ar-Reşâfa: basilica of St. Sergius, squinches in the north aisle.

FIG. 72—Ar-Reşâfa: basilica of St. Sergius, a capital.



FIG. 73



FIG. 74

FIG. 73—Ar-Reşâfa: basilica of St. Sergius, the apses from the east.

FIG. 74—Ar-Reşâfa: basilica of St. Sergius, south side.

Northeast of Umm al-Mara appeared the hamlet of al-Ġnejje and beyond it to the south those of aš-Šrejme and Ẹamķûm. To the north rose the ridge of as-Slêmi, with the ruin mound of Za'râja to the south of it and north-northeast of the latter the hills of Abu Bakr, Abu Ġadħa, and Salma. To the south-southwest the horizon was bounded by the mesa of Šbêt, which is separated on the northwest from the plateau of al-Ĥašš by a deep depression (Fig. 86). At 6.10 we passed the village of Ĥarmel, built on the slope of a low ruin mound, to which a small orchard close by forms a pleasant contrast. North of Ĥarmel lies the hamlet of Mab'ûġe, and farther south those of Aħmedijje and al-Ĥmejmi. At 6.25 we crossed a creek which comes from the settlement of al-Ĥmejmi and on the right bank of which is the ruin mound Ummu-z-Zlêle. At 6.35 we were at the hamlet of Ummu-z-Zlêle aš-Šarîre where we let our camels graze from 6.57 to 7.30. At 7.30 we saw the village of Umm 'Adasa on our right and that of az-Zbejdi on our left; at 7.50 we passed through the village of Tell Ajjûb, southwest of the hamlet of Tell 'Abbûd; at 8.15 we marched through the hamlet of Hazzâze; then through that of al-Ķrejñ; and after that we passed south of the settlement of al-'Asmijje near the salina Mâlħat Ġabbûl, down to which the marshy plain gradually slopes. At 9.30 we sighted to the southwest the two rocky islands of al-Waštâ, to the northwest the village of al-Ķuṭbijje with the ruins Tell Sab'în, and right before us the big ruin mound Tell Mîzân. At 9.40 we rode alongside the salina, which here makes a bend towards the north; at 10.05 we saw on the right the Tell Sab'în, and at 10.30 we halted at the foot of the Tell Mîzân by the large creek Nahr Dahab, on the left bank of which lie the hamlets of al-Ķuṭbijje, al-Brêċe, and Sab'în. West of this creek and almost west of Sab'în are the villages of ad-Dekwâni, and al-Meflese; and northwest of the latter are those of an-Nâşrijje and al-Ĥalabijje, and the high ruin mound of Abu Denne. (Temperature at 11 A. M.: 36° C.)

ĠABBÛL TO AL-MREJRÂT

In the surrounding fields the peasants were cutting barley, which was then carried home by the women on the backs of camels, mules, and donkeys. Continuing our way at 12.45 to

the modern settlement of Ġabbûl,⁵⁴ we had the Tell Mîzân on our right. This must have been the fort of an ancient town which was situated right above the salina. The modern settlement is made up of two parts: the smaller, on the east, is



FIG. 75—Ar-Reşâfa: martyry, porphyry columns.

built on the site of the ancient ruins; west of this stands a large government building, the residence of the local governor and the salt inspectors. The larger part of the settlement proper extends westward and is separated by the Dahab creek from gardens full of figs and poplars.

At 1.15 we left the settlement, following the margin of the salina in a northwesterly direction. At 1.55 at the point

⁵⁴ See below, Appendix VII.

where the an-Na'am creek touches ruins of the same name south of an-Nâşrijje, we turned southwest and from 2.10 to 2.42 rested. At 3.25 the high ruins of Kşêr al-Ward and Iştabel lay north of us, the 'Ajn Şâber and Tell 'Aran³⁵ to the northwest, the gardens of the settlement of Sfira to the west-northwest, and the big Tell Haber ruins, which stretch from east to west, to the south-southwest.

The black basaltic plateau of al-Ḥaṣṣ falls off in a steep slope, much eroded by *še'ibân*, into the fertile plain to the northeast. At its foot, as well as on the slopes higher up, were to be seen numerous settlements. East of the Tell Haber are the hamlets of Zenjân and Ġalrûm; to the southeast those of Ḥarabraş, al-Birke, al-Meşjede, 'Anâze, Kubbâtên, al-Ġnêd, and Umm 'Amûd; to the southwest of the last in a *še'ib* the hamlet of Smâd; farther southwest on the upland the hamlets of al-Berġ, Feġdân, and al-'Âmri; and to the southwest of al-Ġnêd, in a *še'ib* the villages of al-Ḥmêre, Bakkûra, and Rasm 'Entâş. In a ravine southwest of 'Entâş are the hamlets of Kubbâtên, Tât, and al-'Âmri; and south of al-Meşjede in a long depression which stretches from north to south the hamlets of al-'Akraba, Sehûr, Şowjân, Rasm 'Omejš, Şowkân, al-Ḥwejjêr, and Ġerma-kijje. Northwest of al-'Akraba, at the northern edge of the upland, are the hamlets of Ġa'âra, Blûze, Zerrâ'a, Umm Ġurn, Dîmân, and aş-Şâfi; southwest of the last is the hamlet of Ebnân, and farther south that of 'Ajûn al-Rarf and as-Serġe; east of as-Serġe are the hamlets of Ġubb al-A'ma and as-Srêsrât; and south of the last-named is that of as-Smejrijje. To the east of as-Smejrijje gapes a deep ravine, beyond which lie the hamlets of al-Knêtrât and Belle, and east of the latter that of Kafr Hûd. The land northwest of Kafr Hûd is cultivated by *fellâhîn* from the villages of Abu Raṭṭe, al-Ġdejde, Abu 'Abde, al-'Âmri, al-Berġ, Serġ Fâre', Kufr Kâr, and aş-Şâfi, most of which villages are situated near the northern edge of the upland which rises west of the settlement of Sfira.

We crossed the creek which comes from Sfira at 3.30 and then headed directly south. At 4.10 we were at the hamlet of Abu Ġrêr, which is built on a high ruin mound; at 4.45 we arrived at the settlement of 'Akrabûs, beyond which we turned almost due southeast. At 5.05 we marched through the hamlet of Abu Derîh, also built on a high and extensive ruin mound, and at 5.56 we made camp and determined the latitude east of Kubbâtên on the western edge of the ruins and hamlet of Ġalrûm. (Temperature at 7 P. M.: 21.5° C.)

On Friday, May 28, 1915, we were on the march again at 4.38 (temperature: 16° C). At 4.53 we had ruins to the right and left of us. To the north rose the hills stretching from as-Slêmi as far as Salma and on the east the hills of Ḥsâf and Ḥşejfân. At five o'clock we saw ruins on the right and

³⁵ Ibn al-Kalânisi, *Dajl* (Amedroz), p. 34, estimates the distance from Tell A'ran to Aleppo at four parasangs.

the big settlement of *Heḳla* on the left. In a *še'ib* south of us the settlement of *Smâd* was sighted and southeast of it, stretching to the salina, the black spur of *al-Bûz*. At 5.44 we were in the settlement of *Umm 'Amûd*, where in 1912 after our adventure with the *Šammar* we had drunk milk begged from the natives (see above, p. 186). Leaving here we crossed the *še'ib* of *Smâd* and at 6.10 reached *al-Bûz*. To the east appeared the long reddish isthmus of *al-Ġîd*, which extends from north to south and separates the salina of *Ġabbûl* from the salt marsh *Mamlaḥat al-Ḥamra*. In summer and autumn the whole salina is guarded by soldiers to prevent the salt from being stolen. From 6.54 to 7.40 we sketched a map of the vicinity and at eight o'clock rode past the *al-Bâb* ruin, where several fragments of basalt columns were lying on the ground. At 8.38 we arrived at the point where the salina proper ends in a ruined settlement of considerable size. At 8.50 the settlement of *Ġubbên* was sighted on our right; at nine o'clock to the south the settlement *Ġubb 'Eli* at the northern foot of the *Šbêt* mesa; and at 9.10 on the right the hamlet of *al-Umêleh*, beyond which the *še'ib* of *al-Mu'allak* reaches to the hamlets of *Feġdân* and *Ġermaḳijje*. On the slopes of the upland of *al-Ḥaṣṣ*, around which we had been circling since the day before, the traces of old gardens and vineyards could be seen, especially in the neighborhood of *Rasm Nafal*, which was on our right at 9.20.

At 9.45 we came to the settlement of *Hîdlu*, situated at the southwestern end of the salina. At 10.05 on our right was the hamlet of *aš-Šellâlet al-Wasta*; at 10.25 we saw *aš-Šellâlet al-Žiblijje* with its many slender columns and broken pieces of porphyry. The *Ġubb 'Eli* settlement was still visible, north of which, on the north-northeastern corner of the *Šbêt* mesa, lay the *Rawwâm* ruins. To the west of *Ġubb 'Eli* were visible

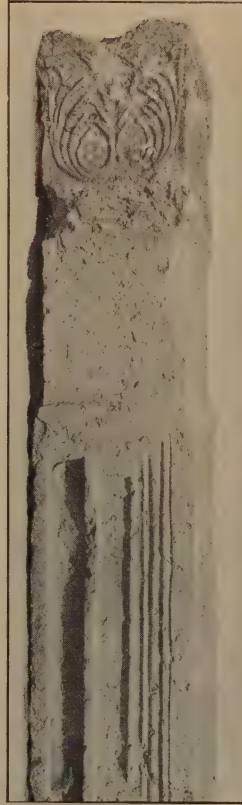


FIG. 76—Ar-Reṣâfa:
martyr,
a marble pillar.

the settlements of al-Kwês and 'Atšâne and near them in the low ground the hamlet of aš-Šrejme; west of the last-named lay the settlement Rasm al-'Askar. After continuing our way southwesterly over the fertile lowland separating Šbêt from al-Ḥaṣṣ, we rested from 10.55 to 12.34 (temperature: 39°C).

At 12.45 the hamlet of ar-Rwêheb was on our right and west of it in a cove in the edge of the plateau of al-Ḥaṣṣ that of ar-Râheb. Northwest of the latter, on the upland, lie the villages of Min'âja south of Feġdân, and al-Ġûha; west of the last is Ġermaġijje and south from there Ḥamed and al-'Ejš. We heard thunder from the south. At 1.48 on our left lay the village of al-Mizra'a, on our right that of al-Ḳur'a with al-'Ejš above it, and at 2.10 on our left were two huts, Rasm al-Ḥuwwas. At 2.52 we encamped by the hamlet of al-Mrejrât, where I made inquiries about the settlements in the districts of al-Ḥaṣṣ and Šbêt. In the evening we determined the latitude as usual (temperature at 8.30: 20°C).

THE MESA OF ŠBÊT

On Saturday, May 29, 1915, we planned to visit the basaltic mesa of Šbêt, called by the 'Aneze Šbêh.⁵⁶

We left on horseback at 4.30 (temperature: 16.5°C), going in a south-southeasterly direction. At five o'clock we were almost half way between al-Mimbaṭaḥ, a square ruin mound about ten meters high lying southwest of us, and al-Baṭḥa to the northeast. To the east we saw the Umm al-Hejâni ruins. At 5.40 east of the al-Ḳrêkeṭ ruins we crossed the *še'ib* of al-Abjaz, which rises in the Šbêt mesa (Fig. 87). At six o'clock we arrived at the foot of the mesa, whence we followed a gully up to the summit, which we reached at 6.35. The gullies, slopes, and the whole surrounding basalt-covered plain were once cultivated. Numerous low walls on the hill-sides and innumerable heaps of basalt which served to support vines bear witness that there were extensive vineyards here in former times. At 7.05 we arrived at the ruined settlement of Drejb al-Wâwi, the buildings of which once covered

⁵⁶ Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 149-153, writes that the districts of al-Aḥaṣṣ and Šubejt lie not far from Aleppo. Al-Aḥaṣṣ is a large, well-known district with numerous villages and much cultivated land lying "between south and north" of Aleppo. Its central point was Hunâšira, once a residence of the caliph 'Omar ibn 'Abdal'aziz but only a small village in Jâkût's time. Šubejt is a black mountain in this district, in which there are the ruins of four villages, whence the inhabitants of Aleppo get the black stone out of which they make querns. Jâkût also records (*ibid.*, Vol. 3, p. 257) that Šubejt is an isolated table mountain in the al-Aḥaṣṣ district, with three villages nestling on its sides. From the black stone brought from there to Aleppo querns known as *aš-šbejtijje* are manufactured.

both slopes of a small basin stretching southwest to the hamlet Rasm Ma'az. On roughly hewn basalt blocks (Fig. 88) were short inscriptions in Greek.

At 8.38 we left Drejb al-Wâwi and at 9.28 reached the southwestern edge of the mesa, whence we could look out



FIG. 77—Ar-Reṣâfa: martyry, a capital.

over the bare, desolate plain of al-Metâjîh. Our guide pointed out to us to the south-southwest the well of al-Ḥammâm, surrounded on the east, south, and southeast by a salt marsh.⁵⁷

The knoll at the wells of al-Morâra was seen far to the south-southeast and the hamlet Rasm al-Ma'az nearer to us to the west-northwest at the foot of the Šbêt mesa. No valley deep enough to mention could be observed anywhere on the southern plain. As this plain slopes gradually to the north, the run-off is impounded at the foot of the Šbêt and al-Ḥaṣṣ uplands, and here, on evaporating, converts the land into salt marshes. West of al-Ma'az and ar-Rôda in the lowland between Šbêt and al-Ḥaṣṣ lies the tiny hamlet of Ġubb al-'Azâmi, to the north-northwest of ar-Rôda appeared the huts of al-Kurbâtijje, to the west at the foot of al-Ḥaṣṣ we saw the hamlet of ar-Ramle with good water, and finally the

⁵⁷ In 1616 Della Valle (*Viaggi* [Venice, 1664], Vol. 1, pp. 568 f.) visited this place, called Hamâm (*ḥammâm*: warm bath) by the Arabs because of the warm water that flows out of the ground.

hamlet of Rasm ar-Rabîz. At 9.38 we started to ride north-eastward across the surface of the mesa, past the aṭ-Ṭwâḥîne ruins. At 10.30 the truncated cone of Drejhem, an outlying isolated spur of Šbêt, appeared to the northeast.

At 10.58 we started down by a narrow path between loose basalt boulders to the southern foot of the mountain, where in a pocket among the rocks we found the Ġubb al-Ḥaġal ruins, with several churches and many inscriptions. Scarcely had we begun to work there, when our mares, shying at something, ran away. Leaving Ḥalaf with the baggage, the guide and I went after them. Stopping at times to tear off a mouthful of grass, they ran first northeast and then west across the undulating summit of the mesa, which is here covered in places with coarse gravel and small basalt boulders. Fearing to leave Ḥalaf alone too long, I returned after twelve o'clock to Ġubb al-Ḥaġal. There a peasant was reaping barley inside the ruins on a piece of land which he had laboriously turned into a field. All at once he threw the barley down from his camel and rode away, calling out to us to flee before raiders whom he had just sighted coming from the south. Quickly loading our things on his camel, we ran after him northwestwards through a gully. From the summit, which we soon reached, we saw a large troop of camel riders at a distance of about four kilometers. They were Bedouins who were coming to get the grain sown, cut, and threshed by the *fellâḥîn*. All over the mesa of Šbêt shots and alarm cries were now heard; the reapers dropped their sickles to seize their rifles. Hearing the shooting, the Bedouins suddenly turned west.

In the meantime our guide brought back the mares he had caught with much difficulty, so that at 2.05 we were able to leave the gully where the 'Allûs ruins are located and to go to the al-Ṙarâwi and aṭ-Ṭûba ruins to the northeast, where we arrived at 3.12.

Aṭ-Ṭûba is situated above the right-hand side of the *šē'ib* of Zebed. There are several well-preserved buildings in the place. No sooner had we begun to copy the numerous Greek inscriptions than a small troop of *fellâḥîn*, suddenly emerging from the *šē'ib*, clambered up its left side and began to shoot at us. It was in vain that our guide, a peasant from al-Mrej-rât, shouted to them that we were friends. They fired about thirty shots. Luckily we were protected by a square fortress

with walls about four meters high between the gully and the ruins in which we had been working. The *fellâhîn* took us for the enemy's spies and stopped shooting only when they had no more ammunition. From at-Ṭûba there is a fine view of the southern bay of the salina called Mamlaḥat al-Ḥamra and of the peninsula of al-Ġîd.

Leaving the ruins at 4.48 we set forth in a westerly direction, halting at 5.12 south of the village of 'Aḳêl in the settlement of Klej'a, above which rise the supporting walls of a mound such as is found beside every ruin in this region. Almost all these mounds are artificial: a space enclosed by four thick walls of rough boulders is filled with smaller stones and loose earth. At Klej'a the four side walls were about five meters high, but the enclosure had been left empty. On a man-made foundation like this it was possible to build a fortress and a church. The rough walls could be lined with hewn blocks. Whenever a fortress was demolished or went from a state of partial dilapidation to complete ruin, the falling brickwork covered the walls, giving the whole the appearance of a natural hillock. The fortresses on many of these mounds were built and destroyed over and over again, which accounts for their height as well as their extent. At 5.29 we rode away and at 6.05 had the ruins and hamlet of Sirdâḥ on our left and the huts of 'Aṭšâne on our right. Finally we reached our camp.

AL-MṚJRÂT TO 'ANADÂN

On Sunday, May 30, 1915, at 4.38 (temperature: 14°C), we left the hamlet of al-Mṛejrât, going in a west-northwesterly direction. We rode among the Ḥamed hillocks, which stretch westward from ar-Râheb, ending southwest of al-Mṛejrât and separating the southern lowland from the basin of al-Waššâš. In this basin at 5.18 we arrived at the hamlet of al-Ḥarba-ḳijje. The basin is over one kilometer wide; its channel disappears above the settlement of Ḥanâṣer which lies to the southwest.

Ḥanâṣer, situated at the northeastern foot of a spur running out from al-Ḥaṣṣ (Fig. 89), dominates not only the plain of al-Baṭḥa but the basin of al-Waššâš as well. It is inhabited by Circassians who immigrated there from Membiğ (or "Bembeğ," as our guide pronounced it). The *fellâhîn* from

the neighboring villages highly praise the drinking water of the Ḥanāṣer settlement.⁵⁸

Passing the settlements of Ḥabes and Ṛanîme, which are situated on the road, we came, at six o'clock to the well of

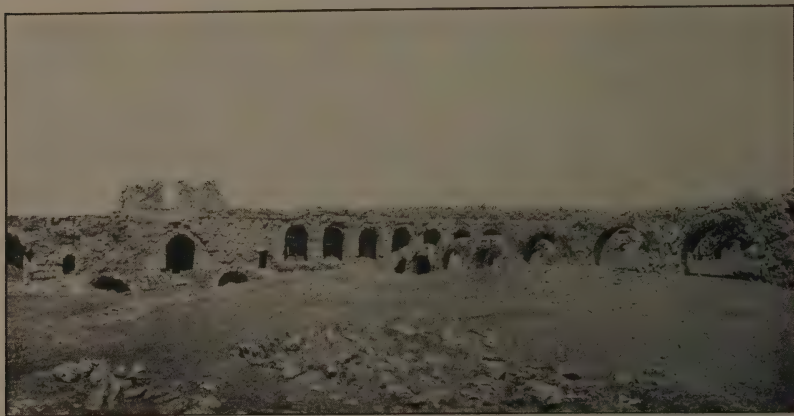


FIG. 78—Ar-Reṣâfa: the mosque from the southwest.

al-Mudarraġ, the water from which runs underground as far as the village of Ḥabes. At 6.10 we saw in a deep gully to the left the hamlet of Ġubb al-A'ma and beyond it the hamlets of Ġubb Ġâsem, Siġar al-Bîz, as-Sijâle, and ar-Ramle. We were traveling along the road which leads to Sfîra and Aleppo and

⁵⁸ The resolutions of the Council of Chalcedon in 451 were signed among others by Maras, bishop of Anasartha, who represented Romulus, bishop of Chalcis (Harduin, *Conciliorum collectio* [Paris, 1715], Vol. 2, col. 373; Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* [Chabot], Vol. 4, p. 197. In Michael the Syrian's *Chronicle* the name given is not Maras but Marinus of Ḥanaṣarta).

A letter sent in 458 by the bishops of the province of Syria Prima to Emperor Leo was signed by Flavianus, bishop of Gabala; Domnus, bishop of Chalcis; and Cyrus, bishop of Onosartha (Harduin, *op. cit.*, col. 713).

At the synod of Antioch summoned by Justinian there participated Bishop Leontius of Ḥanaṣarta (not "Ḥaṣarta" as printed in the text) and Abraham of Ruṣâfa (Michael the Syrian, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 325; Evagrius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, IV, 40).

The *Notitia Antiochiae* (*Itin. hier.*), p. 338, of the middle of the sixth century likewise records an archbishopric of Anasarphon (instead of Anasarthon, which would be more correct).

There was a monastery at Ḥanaṣarta, the abbot of which in 585 was named Sergius (Wright, *Catalogue* [1870–72], p. 756, col. 2).

Nilus Doxopatrus (*Taxis* [Finck], p. 7; Hierocles, *Synecdemus* [Parthey], p. 273) mentions an independent archbishopric of Anasartha, otherwise known as Theodoropolis, in the patriarchate of Antioch.

Al-Belâdori, *Futûḥ* (De Goeje), p. 149, writes that the Christians of the town of Ḥunâsira asked Abu 'Obejda for peace, which he granted.

Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 657 (Abu-l-Faḍâ'il, *Marâsid* [Juynboll], Vol. 1, p. 428) records a poem composed during the reign of Caliph 'Abdalmalek (685–705) which calls the settlement also Dejr (Monastery) Ḥunâsira. It is therefore probable that the Christian monastery was still inhabited there at that time.

In 709 the Jacobite patriarch Elijah came to Ḥunâsira, then the residence of the caliph al-Walîd ibn 'Abdalmalek (Michael the Syrian, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 450, where Ḥanaṣarta should be read instead of "Ḥaṣarta").

Al-Ja'kûbi, *Ta'rîḥ* (Houtsma), Vol. 2, p. 368, relates that the caliph 'Omar selected

which had been improved by the Circassians so thoroughly that it might have been used as a wagon road.

By 6.24 we had reached the plateau surface of al-Ḥaṣṣ and turned west-northwest. At 6.45 we saw to the south the



FIG. 79—Ar-Reṣāfa: looking southwest from the southern church.

villages of al-Iṣṭablât and ʿAbde, to the northwest the village of Ḥāḡeb, to the west that of Rasm al-Ḳarḳûr, and to the southwest that of at-Tîne. At 7.10 at the hamlet of ʿAbdet al-Bîše we crossed a *še'ib* which extends to Sijaṛ al-Bîz. From 8.10 to 9.15 we stayed near Ḥāḡeb, sketching a map of the

for his residence Ḥunâsîra, in the desert on the southern border of the district of Ḳînnesrîn, since he would not live in the manors built by his relatives out of funds belonging to Allâh and taxes paid by the Moslems. When reproached that because of his living in the distant desert the Moslems would suffer, he went to Damascus, where he took quarters in the house of his father by the mosque. But in twenty days, annoyed by the countless visitors, he left again for Dejr Sam'ân.

By the middle of February, 720, ʿOmar had died in Ḥunâsîra and was buried at Dejr Sam'ân (at-Ṭabari, *Ta'riḥ* [De Goeje], Ser. 2, pp. 1361f.).

Al-Iṣṭahri, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), p. 61, considers the fort of Ḥunâsîra on the border of the desert as belonging to the district of Ḳînnesrîn.

Ibn Ḥawkal, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), p. 119, writes that in his time the once flourishing and charitable town of Ḥunâsîra was deserted, after having been pillaged by the Greeks. Its inhabitants were scattered all over the desert, and the road from Syria to Ḥunâsîra had become desolate.

Al-Mukaddasi, *Aḥsan* (De Goeje), p. 154, knew among the towns belonging to Ḥoms of Salamiġja, Tadmur, and al-Ḥunâsîra.

Kemâladdin, *Ta'riḥ* (Barbier de Meynard), p. 629, relates that at the end of the summer of 1121 King Baldwin II, the ruler of Antioch, laid siege to the town of Ḥunâsîra and, taking it, had the gate of the castle brought to Antioch. He also pillaged the Burġ as-Sibna, Naḳira, al-Aḥaṣṣ, and other places.

According to Jâkût, *Mu'ġam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 2, p. 473, the town of Ḥunâsîra, lying on the borders of the desert, belonged to the administrative district of Aleppo and was the seat of government of the district of al-Aḥaṣṣ.

Abu-l-Feda', *Takwîm* (Reinaud and De Slane), pp. 232 f., states that Ḥunâsîra is situated on the border of the desert two days southeast of Aleppo at the eastern foot of the mountain of al-Aḥaṣṣ, which extends to the east of Aleppo. East of al-Aḥaṣṣ stretches the smaller mountain of Šubejt, between which and al-Aḥaṣṣ is a lowland "the time of a horse's gallop" (about three kilometers) wide, where the settlement of Ḥunâsîra was built.

neighborhood. We could see almost the whole southern half of al-Ḥaṣṣ, which forms an undulating plateau strewn over with basalt stones and dissected by deep narrow gullies. Most of the hamlets are situated on the heights and were thus easily and accurately marked on the plan. In spite of the basalt stones, the upland is cultivated and fertile.

Our work over, we went west to the deep black gully of Ġehennam, which gapes precipitously in the plateau. At 9.40 we came to the edge of the plateau and started to descend into this gully, reaching the bottom at 10.11. In the small channel, water can be found anywhere with ease.

At 10.30 we left Ġehennam and entered a basin which rises gradually northwards, where our guide pointed out to us to the west-northwest the hamlet of al-Medâjen, on a hillside to the northwest that of al-Bakât, and to the southwest that of ar-Rbeĵ'a. At 10.48 we crossed the road from ar-Ramle to Aleppo and at 10.50 were in the village and ruins of ar-Rbeĵ'a. To the northeast appeared on the plateau the village of Rasm al-Bsâs. At 11.35 (temperature: 28° C) we were at the village of 'Alês (Fig. 90) and from 12.00 to 1.40 P.M. we rested by a brook which comes from the walled spring of Ḥânûṭe and irrigates a small garden, to the east of which stand a few huts and to the south the Umm Raṛâfa ruins. At 2.10 the glistening salt marsh of al-'Ajta appeared to the south, forming a broad white belt extending from east to west, with the ruin-hill of as-Sabḥa just north of it. To the northwest of this marsh are the village of Umm al-Wâdi and the ruin mound of Rêtal. Near the marsh there bubbles up the spring of al-'Ajta which irrigates the neighboring fields.⁵⁹

We now took a west-northwesterly course along the western foot of the al-Ḥaṣṣ plateau. At 2.35 we had the hamlet of Ummu Rbâr to the south of us; at 2.45 we passed Umm al-'Amûd on our right; then we turned west and began the ascent of a broad height which stretches to the southwest. At 2.50 there rose far to the north-northwest the high Tell al-Arba'în and nearer to us on the northwest the Tell aṣ-Ṣamân. Reaching the top of the rocky height, we made a sketch of the surrounding country, this work lasting from 3.22 to 4.20. In front

⁵⁹ Jākût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 750, knew of the district of 'Ajta in Syria.

Della Valle, *Viaggi* (Venice, 1664), Vol. 4, p. 617, relates that on returning to Aleppo from Mesopotamia in 1625 he had on his right the road leading to Aleppo past Achila, and that he turned to the left. At noon he reached a settlement called Haitâ with four deserted huts and some kind of shrine. — Achila may be identified with the station of Ḥekla and Haitâ with 'Ajta.

of us extended a large, fertile lowland strewn over with hamlets and bounded on the east and northeast by the al-Ḥaṣṣ plateau, on the south by the plateau of al-‘Ala’, and on the west and northwest by the spurs of the range of Sra’. This lowland is the old Chalcidena, praised by Pliny (*Naturalis historia*, V, 81) for its fertility. The Arabs called it Ḳinnesrîn.

At the western foot of al-Ḥaṣṣ and southeast of it lie the settlements of Umm al-‘Amûd, Umm Rarâfa, Ḥânûte, and Dibs; northeast of it in a gully lies Bise; and on a rise the settlements of Umm Raba’a and Birğ as-Şhene. South of Dibs appeared the settlements of Dbejsân, Ḳlej’at aş-Şîh, al-Ḥamar, ar-Ramle, and Rasm ar-Rabîz. Northwest of Umm al-‘Amûd were seen the hamlets of Ğubb al-Ḥafi, aş-Şwêḥa, al-Iṣṭablât, Ergel, Kufr ‘Abîd, Ğufr Manşûr, and Eblâs; east of the last named Dejr aş-Şalibe, and northwest the hills of al-Arba’in and aş-Şehîd. North of these hills are the settlements of al-‘Wênât, Baṭlâne, and Hôbar; southwest of the last those of Dlâme, Abu Rwêl, and al-Meşrefe. South of al-Meşrefe stretches the marshy lowland of al-Maṭḥ, from which there projects an isolated, flattened elevation along the western side of which runs the railroad connecting Aleppo and Ḥama’. The station of Tlejîne stands about opposite the center of this elevation. North of this rise and east of the railroad are the settlements of ad-Drejžile and aş-Şa’bijje; to the east of it is al-‘Aṭşâne, and to the southeast aṭ-Trejfâwi, Tell ad-Dubbân, and Wezz. On the southeastern edge of the marshy lowland of al-Maṭḥ emerged the hamlet of al-Mimbataḥ, and south of this hamlet (but north of us) the gendarme station of az-Zamân beside a large ruin mound. West of al-Mimbataḥ the marsh stretches as far as the settlements of al-Baṭḥa, al-Ġafra, al-Mšêrfât, aṭ-Trejfâwi, al-Hmejmât, and the hill Tell Faḥḥâr, which rises north of a ruin mound with which the red roof of the railroad station of Abu-d-Dhûr formed a pleasant contrast. We rode directly toward this station through the lowland, which was entirely cultivated.

At 4.55 we saw to the north of us the hamlet of al-Mimbataḥ, to the north of which lay that of Ergel with Ğufr Manşûr farther to the left. At 5.05 we rode past the village of al-Helwa. On the south appeared the huts of Umm al-Ḥûta and in front of us those of Barhamijje; at 5.30 we were in al-Ḥajjânijje. To the north we saw the settlement of Tell al-Razâl, to the south al-Abjaz, to the southwest Dwêr al-Hawa, north of this Rûbje, farther north ‘Anadân, and still farther north al-Mâseḥ and al-Meğâher. At 5.55 we encamped at ‘Anadân.

‘ANADÂN TO ḤELBÂN

On Monday, May 31, 1915, at 4.34 (temperature: 14° C) we left ‘Anadân, where the water was plentiful but bitter. To the south appeared the hamlets of aş-Şwêḥa and al-Ḳur’a. At

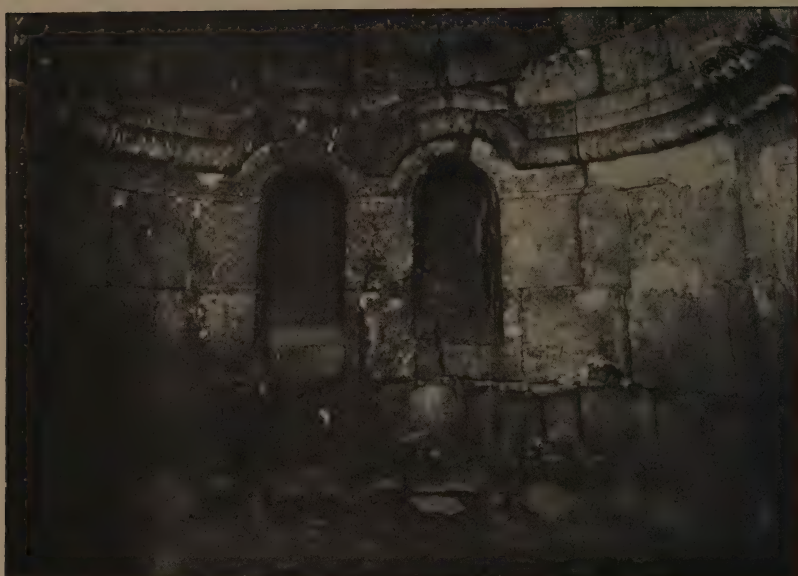


FIG. 80



FIG. 81

FIG. 80—Ar-Reşâfa: Alamundarus' church, interior of the main apse.

FIG. 81—Ar-Reşâfa: Alamundarus' church, a capital.

5.15, with the village of Abu-l-Mrêr behind us, we headed southwest and at six o'clock passed al-Meğâs and sighted the village of at-Twêm. At 6.25 we saw the railroad station of Abu-ḡ-Dhûr to the west. From 6.30 to 7.30, being then east of the village of Umm al-Barârîṭ and north of Smejja, we sketched a map of the vicinity; after which we turned south. To the southwest we observed the villages of Tell Selma, Bêtje, and al-Mazlak; to the southeast those of al-Ḥamîdijje, al-'Alijje, al-Ḥaşîr, Umm Ğûra, and Rêtal. To the southwest the horizon was shut in by the plateau of al-'Ala', from which the high Riġm Sra^{c60} projects northward.

At 8.30 our way led past the Ummu Ğrejñ ruins and the hamlet of al-Bejjâ'ijje, both on our left. At 8.50 we were passing through the latter in a rocky hollow. Both right and left were seen the gentle slopes of stony hillocks with numerous flocks of goats and sheep grazing upon them. At 9.15 the cone of al-'Ôġe rose almost directly west of us, below which lie the hamlet and railroad station of the same name; to the east appeared the hamlets of al-Bwêder and Marâdîġ. At 9.50 we were at the al-Mab'âsa ruins east of Rasm al-Abjaz, and at 10.20 at Umm 'Adasa, whence we rode through a broad, shallow valley to the settlement of al-'Oġla, where from 10.53 to 12.20 (temperature: 28° C) we sketched a map of the neighborhood. At al-'Oġla is a steam flour mill.

South of the railroad station of al-'Ôġe lie the settlements of al-Wrêde, al-Ḥarmala, Merderâne, Singâr, and Ummu-l-Mêlât; and at the southeastern foot of the cone of Sra' nestles the village of Srejje'. East of al-'Oġla salt marshes stretch along the foot of the al-'Ala' plateau. To the southeast, where al-'Ala' broadens out, there rises the high ruin mound Tell aš-Šôr, which dominates the whole plain to the east. At its

⁶⁰ The basaltic plateau of al-'Ala' forms a district of its own, which I take to be the classical Parapotamia.

Strabo, *Geography*, XVI, 2: 11, writes that the districts bordering the region of Apamea are: on the east Chalcidica and Parapotamia, the country of the Arab phylarchs; on the south the plain of the Scenitae. All these people resemble the nomads of Mesopotamia, except that those living nearer Syria are more tractable than the Arabs and Scenitae, because they live under a better rule. They obey the lords Sampsiceramus of Arethusa, Gambarus of Themella, and others. — In my opinion this Themella was transcribed from Theledda, an easy error when Greek capital letters are used.

Pliny, *Naturalis historia*, XII, 132 f., mentions the *oenathe* (i. e. the grapes of the *vitis labrusca*) as the best in Parapotamia. —

The western half of this Parapotamia of Strabo and Pliny is still full of the remains of ancient vineyards, and its wine, especially that from the vicinity of the town of Chalybon, the modern Ḥelbân, was famous in antiquity.

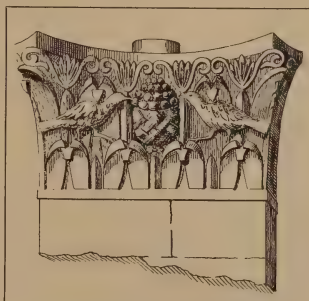


FIG. 82—Ar-Reşâfa:
Alamundarus' church,
a capital.

northeastern base are the villages of al-Kôla and al-Ğahaš, and south-east of aš-Šôr lie those of al-Rzejle, al-Mfaḳḳar, al-Ḥanâdež, al-Lweže, and al-Ḥarâjež.

At one o'clock we saw on the east the hamlet of Ummu Tmâr and on the south that of Ğehamân, near a high ruin mound. At 1.10 we again sighted on the southeast the Tell aš-Šôr, a huge heap of ruins on a crest stretching from southwest to northeast. At 1.15 we crossed the creek of al-'Oḳla which flows from the east-southeast, and at 1.43 had the settlement of Ğehamân on our right and large ruins on our left. Our camels grazed from 1.43 to 2.10, while we sketched a map of the surrounding country. On the right in a valley winding in a south-southeasterly direction we saw the hamlets of Srejje^c and Sra^c. At 2.50 we stopped at Dawadijje, where we stayed until 3.30, sketching another map. To the east-northeast, east of the Tell aš-Šôr, the broad, glistening surfaces of salt marshes began to appear. Going southwest we came at 4.02 to the gap Ri^c al-Hawa, from which we had a fine view both to the north and to the southwest.

In the latter direction the high ruin mound Rasm al-Abjaz, with the settlement of Eštêb, was sighted. To the northeast from Rasm al-Abjaz stretches a valley with the following villages lying along its sides: on the left, aṭ-Twejbe, Šêriğ, al-'Amâra, al-Ḥejrijje, al-Mrejžeb, al-Rzejle, Abu Deriḥa, and al-Mfaḳḳar; and on the right, al-Ğeriše, Lâbde, Abu 'Alêž, and Sellêge. This valley ends northeast of the Tell aš-Šôr in the salt marsh east of the settlement of al-Kôla. Along the railroad track south of Sra^c are the settlements of Rasm al-'Abed, al-Ḥaḳḳijje, the railroad station of Ummu-r-Rgejm, the settlements of al-Hawa', al-Mrejžeb, ar-Rbej'a, ad-Duğâğ, Abu Dâli, the station of al-Ḥamdâniyye, the settlements of Umm Ḥartên, aṭ-Tâmme, aṭ-Tlêsiyye, al-Kbêbât, Ḥafsîn, al-Krâḥ, aṭ-Ṭajjibe, and the station of Kowkab. Southwest of Eštêb are the settlements of Bîr az-Zurba, al-Ḥardâne, 'Ezzeddîn, aš-Še'ate, al-Ğnêne, Abu Samra, al-Muḥarram, Dûma, al-Fân, and Abu Mensaf. The ruin of Riğm Sra^c rises above a dark spur extending into a deep basin by the railroad.

From 4.10 to 4.41 we made a sketch map of the surrounding country. At 5.15 we approached a village and ruins both named Abu 'Alêž. Here, east of an artificial mound which is over ten meters high, lie great heaps of old building material; to the northeast flows a vigorous spring. Near the spring there appears the large ruin of Sellêge. At 6.45 we encamped between the hamlet and the mound of al-Maksar in a broad basin which stretches towards Sellêge. To the northeast rose the Tell aš-Šôr. (Temperature at 7.20: 16.3° C.)

Tuesday, June 1, 1915. We started at 4.25 (temperature: 12° C) going southwesterly; at five o'clock we were at the al-Ḥmâr ruins, which lie at the junction of two valleys; on the west we sighted the Tell al-Ḥanzîr, rising above on a high

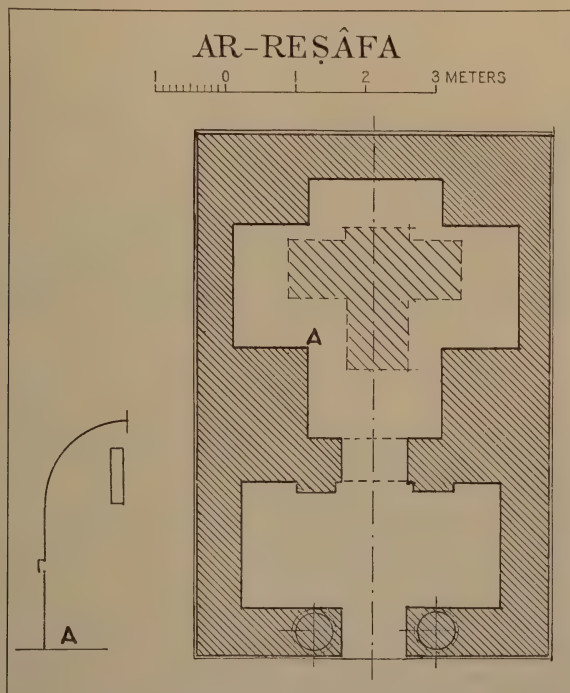


FIG. 83—Ar-Reṣâfa: a mausoleum.

ridge. Through a gap in this ridge showed the range of al-Ma'arra. At 5.35 we reached the village of ar-Rwêza, lying at the southeastern end of a fertile basin. In the large ruins here were seen pieces of broken columns and sarcophagi. At the western end of the basin appeared the huts of the hamlets of al-Ḥardâne and Bîr az-Zurba, with az-Zebâde to the north of them and north of this again al-Ġerîše. Northwest of az-Zebâde is the settlement of Eṣṭêb. To the west of Bîr az-Zurba extend huge ruins, among which are located the huts constituting the hamlets of aṭ-Ṭâmme. Southwest of ar-Rwêza was seen the Kaṣr 'Eli.

From 6.42 to 7.40 we stayed at the village of ar-Rabda, sketching a map of the vicinity.

We sighted here for the first time to the southwest of us Mount Zên al-'Âbedîn near Ḥama'. To the west of us were the tall 'Arfa' ruins with, to the south of them, the villages of al-Ḥazm, Semâkât, and Dûma, and to the east of 'Arfa' the elevation of al-Mdawwara extending from east to west. On the southern slope of this elevation lie the settlements of al-Ḥamar, al-Žena, and Abu 'Ağwa; on the eastern slope the Kaşr Eben Wardân; and on the northern the settlements of al-Fwêde, Abu Ḥanâdež, al-Koḥle, al-Mḥammadijje, and 'Ombos. On a plain east of the elevation of al-Mdawwara is the settlement of al-Ḥellêbât, and north of the elevation those of Umm Ġurn and Ġubb as-Sukkar. West of Umm Ġurn is situated the hamlet of Ķur' Rubû'a, with the hamlets of Abu 'Ağwa', al-Ġnêne, and Anderîn lying to the north.⁶¹

West of Abu 'Ağwa are the al-Ḥawâjes ruins, and southwest those of al-Ḥazne. Southeast of the Kaşr Eben Wardân the hillocks of al-'Abel stretch from south to north. In these hillocks heads a *še'ib* of the same name, which runs thence in a north-northeasterly direction. On its left side, east of Anderîn, lies the settlement of Umm al-Kidš and northeast of the latter the well of Abu Darak, beyond which the valley disappears. South of Umm al-Kidš are the ruins of al-Maṭrân, east of them the well of az-Zerka,⁶² northwest of this well the spring 'Wênt al-Razâl, and east of this spring the al-Morâra ruins.

At 8.20 we rode among the ruins of Kaşr Šâwi, which lie to the northeast of al-Fân and Dûma. At 8.30 we had a splendid view of three waves of land stretching to the southeast.

⁶¹ The *Antonine Itinerary* (Parthey and Pinder), 195:1—3, mentions a road from Calcida (Chalcis, Kinneret) via Androna (Anderîn) to Seriane (Esrija).

An-Nâbira, *Diwân* (Derenbourg), p. 92, and al-Aḥṭal, *Diwân* (Sahani), p. 62, mention plaited leather reins made at Andarin.

Jâkût (*Mu'jam* [Wüstenfeld], Vol. 1, p. 373) knew of a ruined town of Andarin, one day south of Aleppo on the borders of the settled territory. To the south of it there was scarcely an inhabited place. Andarin was famous for the wine and the plaited leather reins made there. — Andarin lies on the borders of the district of al-'Ala', the center of which was formerly the town of Ḥebân, from which wine was exported even to Tyre and Babylon.

⁶² The spring well of az-Zerka' was known to the Arabic writers.

Al-Bekri, *Mu'jam* (Wüstenfeld), p. 437, knew of az-Zerka' as a watering place in Syria between the towns of Ḥunâsira and Sûrija. It was there that a lion attacked 'Otejba ibn Abi Lahab and bit his head in two because he incited the people against the Prophet. The Beni 'Amer, when rebelling against Sejfaddowle, the lord of Aleppo, encamped at az-Zerka'. Abu-l-Farağ, however, records (*Aḡāni* [Bûlâk, 1285 A.H.], Vol. 15, pp. 2f.) that 'Otejba's adventure with the lion took place in the valley of al-Kâşera, while he was escorting a caravan to Syria. Jâkût (*op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 924) did not know the precise situation of this valley. — These reports would seem to show that there were two places called az-Zerka', one in the vicinity of Ḥunâsira, the other on the trade road from the Ḥegâz to Syria. This road passed east of the Dead Sea, running by the well-known station of az-Zerka'. This station is at a spring of the same name, which forms a fairly large creek, and east of it in the neighborhood of the fort of al-Azrak there are large marshes and bushes, which were a favorite haunt of lions as late as the early years of the eighteenth century. It was at the other az-Zerka', however, the one in the district of Ḥunâsira, that the Beni 'Amer camped.

Jâkût, *loc. cit.*, states that az-Zerka' is a spring well never without water, and that it lies between Ḥunâsira and Sûrija near the hot spring of al-Ḥammâm. — "Sûrija" should be read "Surja" or, as it is pronounced now, "Esrija." From Esrija there formerly led and still leads a transport route via az-Zerka' to Ḥunâsira. The well-known Roman camp of Sura (Sûrija) lay far to the east on the Euphrates and should not be confused with Esrija.

Abu-l-Feda', *Muḥtaşar* (Adler), Vol. 5, pp. 102f., relates that in 1292 Sultan al-Malek al-Aşraf, while marching from Ḥama' to Aleppo, visited al-Ḥammâm and az-Zerka', lying in the desert, and caught many gazelles and wild asses.

To the north of these lies the village of Abu Mensaf, west of which are the village of al-Mbaṭṭel and the station of Kowkab. Southwest of Kowkab by the railroad track appeared the hamlet of Šôrân, with al-Mrêwid to the east-southeast and, south of al-Mrêwid, Kafr Râ' and al-Mazba'a. South of the last two are the high hills of Kṛûn Ḥama' with the



FIG. 84—The Euphrates north of ar-Reṣâfa, with our camp (p. 168).

little shrine Zên al-ʿÂbedîn. To the northeast of us the gap was visible through which the *še'ib* of as-Selîle enters the plain to the east. At nine o'clock, to the east-northeast between the hillocks of al-Mdawwara and the hamlet Rasm al-Ḥamar, the settlement of al-Zena' was sighted with its ruins, and the hamlet of al-Umêleh to the south of them.

To the east we saw the two ruin mounds of Debbaṛîn, which rise from a common foundation of huge dimensions, at the southeastern foot of which stands a village of the same name. To the south-southeast, on a fine plain into which a spur of the ar-Rḥajje hillocks runs from the west, emerged the settlement of Lâle. At the northeastern base of this spur is a military post, where thoroughbred mares were kept. North of the post flows the creek of as-Selîle, on the banks of which we rested from 9.45 to 11.24 (temperature: 25°C). At 11.54 on our left was the breeding station of al-Ḥamra, a building in the form of a square, with a gate on its western and a well on its southern side. From 12.15 to 1.24, during a stop at the hamlet of Râs al-ʿAjn, near which the creek of as-Selîle rises, we made a map of the neighborhood. The *še'ib* of as-Selîle heads far to the southeast, almost due east of Ḥomṣ. A creek of considerable size and bearing the same name enters the valley at Râs al-ʿAjn and runs through it in a northerly and northeasterly direction.

On the left side of the *še'ib* of as-Selîle, going north from Râs al-ʿAjn, are the settlements of al-Ḥamra, al-Ḥawijje, al-Ḥaz'ali, al-Mḥaṣar,

Umm Ḥasan, Kaṣr Šāwī az-Zbā'iyye, al-Eftēh, al-Klā'a, Ḡubb 'Otmān, al-Ḥalāwa, al-Ḡedū'iyye, and al-Ḥarājež; on the right side are those of Abu Ḥajje, Ḡehennam, 'Obb al-Ḥazne, 'Obb al-Ḡenne, az-Zhūr, al-Hūme west of Anderīn, and al-'Azizīyye. East of the hillocks of ar-Rḥajje are the villages of Tlêḥān and Tōtaḥ; north of these the villages of Abu Ḥariḳ and al-Mšêṭbe; and south of Tlêḥān those of Rezêzi and al-Ḥrêzi, both on the side of rather high hills. Much farther to the south, on the left side of the *še'ib* of as-Selile lies the settlement of al-'Aršūne, while farther north on the same side are the villages of Abu Hubêlât, al-Maṣ-ūdiyye, al-Ḥelfi, Mâlṭa, ar-Rāwi, al-Mfaḳḳar, Dīl al-'Aḡel, Ešnān, Umm at-Twāne, al-Ḥarīda, and ar-Rḥajje. On the right side of as-Selile north-east of al-'Aršūne is the settlement of Tell al-'Azām, followed as one goes northward by Abu-l-Belāje, Abu-l-Ḥanāja, Kaṣr al-Ḥomr, Ḡaddū'a, Sab-būra, Abu-l-Ḥanādeḳ, Rezêzi, and Lāle. To the south of us was seen the Kaṣr Tamak, on top of a height to the northeast of it the Kaṣr Nawa', and farther east four stunted buttes in the low range of hills known as Rḡūm al-'Abel. From south to north on the west side of this range lie the settlements of aṣ-Šejjāde, Salba, Ab-al-Ṛorr, and al-Mu'aḳḳar. On the east side of the range almost due southeast of Ab-al-Ṛorr lies the little hamlet of al-Ḳenāfed, southeast of which on a long ridge are the settlements of al-Ḥorṭ, Zēnab, aš-Šejḥ Helâl, as-Se'en, and as-Su'en, near all of which bubble out vigorous springs. Northeast of these settlements lie the al-Mêbiḡa and al-Hinna ruins. The country south of al-'Abel is also cultivated, comprising the settlements of Tell Kaṭa', Frêtân, Tell al-Ḡedīd, al-Meṣ'ade, and al-Mšê'id. East of the last-named lie the Riḡm al-Ḥanzîr ruins.

The small flats, undulations, and gullies through which we were passing are strewn with broken fragments of basalt. Low walls and little heaps of stones abound, and the remains of small buildings containing olive and wine presses are unmistakable signs that the whole region must formerly have been one large vineyard. In the volcanic soil the vine undoubtedly thrived.

Geographically the al-'Ala' plateau district, which we were now passing through, is separated not only from the territory of Aleppo but from Palmyrena proper as well. It is separated from the former by the al-Maḥḥ lowland and from the latter by the barren plain of al-Morâra. On the south it extends as far as the creek of as-Se'en, near Salamja; on the west it sinks away into the plain where Ḥama' is situated.

At 2.15 the ruins and hamlet of Ab-al-Ḳdūr were on our right, and on our left lay the settlement of al-'Anz, with a spring. At 2.28 we came to the Ḥelbân ruins, which lie on a wide slope which faces the east and is bounded on three sides by lower ground. To the west, at the highest part of the slope, there rises a ruined fortress, east of which in times past there stood a walled town six hundred meters long by

five hundred meters wide. At the southeastern side of the town there is a dilapidated tower with a Greek inscription, in a house north of which we found a second inscription. To the north of the town are many graves with large stone cof-



FIG. 85—Ad-Daḥal from the east (p. 169).

fins. A number of *fellâḥîn* had built huts among the ruins, in which they were now busy making excavations.⁶³

⁶³ The Ḥelbân ruins I consider to be those of the Biblical Ḥelbôn, the Assyrian Hilbunu, and the classical Chalybon. The whole basaltic plateau of al-'Ala' in times past was planted with the vine, the yield of which was undoubtedly plentiful as well as of excellent quality.

Ezekiel, 27 : 18, states that Damascus traded with Tyre, bringing wine from Ḥelbôn and wool from Ṣaḥar.

Nebuchadnezzar (605—562 B. C.) mentions wine from Hilbunu (Inscription from Wâdi Brisa A, col. 4, l. 51; Grotefend inscription [Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pll. 65 f.] col. 1, l. 23; Langdon, *Building Inscriptions* [1905], pp. 82, 158; idem, *Neubabylonische Königsinschriften* [1912], pp. 90, 154).

HELBÂN TO TELL AD-DRA'

We left the former town of Helbân at 4.50, going south. On the east were seen the al-Mšêrfe ruins and to the north-west the ruins and hamlets of al-Bardûni, aṭ-Ṭûba, and ad-Dîbe. Our way led through extensive old vineyards and cultivated fields. We encamped at 5.50 by the hamlet and large ruins of the Kaşr ad-Dahab. The ruin mound here, nearly ten meters in height, affords a fine view of the ridge of al-ʿAbel lying to the east, and of the settlements between this and the plateau proper of al-ʿAla', which, beginning at ar-Rḥajje, falls off quite steeply near Tell 'Ada' into the plain. Southeast of the Kaşr ad-Dahab winds a deep še'îb, adjoining which on the north lie the villages of al-Obejjez, al-Kbêbât, and al-Ḥnêfes, and on the south those of Zabbûde, Nawa', and Šuhba. On a height south of Nawa' and Kaşr Tamak are situated the villages of Sabbâ', Dûse, Semni, and Tell 'Ada' with a tall ruin.⁶⁴ We completed our work by determining the latitude (temperature at 7.45: 19.5°C).

On Wednesday, June 2, 1915, at 4.10 (temperature 8.5°C) we set forth on our journey. On a huge height to the southeast we saw the Zabbûde ruins; to the north of us emerged the mound and settlement of al-Bardûni; and before us a high ruin mound with a hamlet next to it named 'Ali Čâsûn, both situated on a fertile swell. From here many settlements to the southeast, south, and west could be seen.

To the northwest was the village of Da'in, southwest of which, on the right-hand side of a še'îb which stretched to the southwest, lay al-Ḥulla, and, still farther on, al-ʿEwer, as-Sfêne, al-Barl, and al-Ōğa. The last two are in the plain east of Ḥama'. North of them, on the western edge of the plateau of al-ʿAla', are situated the villages of Čâsûn al-Ġebel, Kennoş, ad-Dwejb, and Ṭajjebt at-Turki. By the twin mountains of Krûn Ḥama' are the hamlets of al-Ġwêze, al-Hâšmijje, Ġebrîn, and 'Ajn al-Bâd.

We stayed at 'Ali Čâsûn from 5.30 to 5.41; then, continuing our way southwestward, we came at 6.10 to the hamlet of Ṭarrâd, south of which stand the Rabba ruins, resembling

⁶⁴ Pliny, *Naturalis historia*, V, 89, states that the Palmyrene desert comprises the districts of Telendena, Hierapolis, Beroea, and Chalcis. A part of the desert land belongs to Hemesa as well as to Elatium, which is nearer by half to the town of Petra than to Damascus. — Detlefsen in his edition of the *Natural History*, loc. cit., had printed "Stelendena regio," which is a mistake. Telendena is the plateau of al-ʿAla' in which Tell 'Ada' is located.

It is interesting to note here that Pliny knew of a distinct "regio Telendena," by which he undoubtedly meant the surroundings of Tell 'Ada', which lies not far from the ruins of Helbân, the old Chalybon. Ptolemy, *Geography*, V, 14 : 13, calls the same district Chalybonitis.

a fortification. Southwest of these ruins gapes the black *še'ib* of Ġehennam, and south-southeast of us appeared the settlement of al-ʿEzejjem. South of this *še'ib*, which ends at the village of al-Bêza south of Tell ʿAda, lie the villages of al-Maflaḥ and Čâtelûn. From 7.02 to 7.43 we stopped at the little hamlet of al-Laḥûne, situated in a broad valley sloping to the southwest, which we crossed, coming just beyond to a big basin with numerous settlements. At 8.15 we reached aṭ-Twejżijje, a village on the southern foot of a spur of the al-ʿAlaʾ plateau. To the southwest we sighted the white huts of the villages of Umm Ġurn, Smâḥ, al-Mbâarakât, and Čâfât, beyond which on the west appeared the deep, black river bed of al-Âṣi (the Orontes), winding along the eastern foot of the hillocks of Abu Derde, which end on the north in the truncated cone of Maʿarrîn. On the slope of the latter emerged the white hamlet of Brâk; at the northeastern foot of Abu Derde lie the huts of the hamlet of Taḥṣîṣ. On the left, east of us, rose the steep sides of the al-ʿAlaʾ plateau. At 9.18 we rode through the village of aš-Šhale. To the north-northwest, on the western slope of the al-ʿAlaʾ plateau, appeared the settlement as-Sfêne, and northwest from there the truncated cone of al-Ġurn with a settlement of the same name; but higher than them all towered to the northwest of us the mountains of Krûn Ḥamaʾ, where there is the little shrine Zên al-ʿÂbedîn.⁶⁵

At 9.45 we were in the broad *še'ib* of as-Seʿen. This is bounded on the northeast by the black wall of the plateau of al-ʿAlaʾ, the southern end of which curves toward the southeast. Though the view to the west was obstructed by the white hillocks of Abu Derde, on the south there appeared the extensive orchards of the settlement of Tell ad-Draʾ, which are irrigated by the creek of as-Seʿen.

At 10.18 we reached the road leading from Ḥamaʾ to Salamja. To our left rose an isolated white butte on which stands the Kaṣr Šumejmîs.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ Jākût, *Muʿğam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 2, p. 332, writes that the Qurûn Ḥamaʾ are two mountains rising opposite each other.

On April 13, 1175, Saladin was victorious in an encounter with the lord of Aleppo at the Qurûn Ḥamaʾ (Ibn Šaddâd, *Nawâdir* [De Slane], pp. 61 f.; Ibn al-ʿAtîr, *Kâmil* [Tornberg], Vol. 11, p. 279).

⁶⁶ The Arabic writers mention Šumejmîs. In August, 1157, Syria was visited by an earthquake. Beside many other places, the towns of Ḥamaʾ and Ḥomṣ and also the fort of Šumejmîs near Salamja were destroyed (Kemâladdin, *Taʾrîḫ* [Blochet's transl.], *Rev. d'or. lat.*, Vol. 3, p. 529).

In 1231 Asadaddin Šîrkûh, the lord of Ḥomṣ and ar-Raḥba, built the fort of Šumejmîs on a high isolated hill near Salamja (Ibn al-ʿAtîr, *op. cit.*, Vol. 12, p. 329).

The *še'ib* of as-Se'en, beginning to the southeast of where we crossed it and almost due east of Ḥomṣ, winds across an undulating plain covered with settlements. On its right side west of al-'Arṣūne lies Maḳṣad al-Ḥṣân, then come Sellâm, Umm Ḥârtên, al-Barri, Tell at-Tût, aṣ-Ṣafâwi, ar-Râwi, and the town of Salamja, southeast of the Ḳaṣr Ṣumejmîs. On

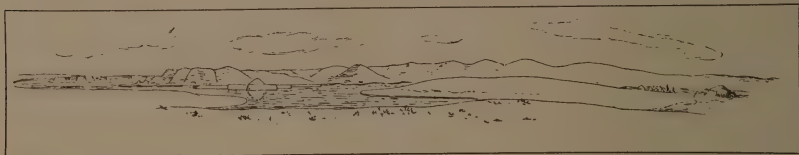


FIG. 86—Aṣ-Šbêt and al-Ḥaṣṣ from the northeast (p. 196).

its left are the settlements of al-Ḥeble, Tell al-Ward, ad-Dwê'er, Munṭâr al-'Abd, as-Senkere, al-Ubêza, Umm Ġurn, Šḳâra, Umm al-'Amad, al-Mzêre', al-Merġ, and Tell ad-Dra' where the creek runs into the river al-'Âṣi (Orontes).

TELL AD-DRA' TO AL-ḲÂRA

From 10.30 to 11.52 (temperature: 26° C) we rested at the creek of as-Se'en by the Tell ad-Dra' ruins, after which we rode through the village of ad-Dra' southwards and at 1.05 were at the hamlet of Kubbt al-Kurdi, lying southeast of al-'Âder and Taḥṣîs. At 1.50 the village of Ġemmâri was on our left and east of it that of Šḳâra; at 2.10 al-Mrejġi lay to the west, and to the west-southwest east of the ridge of al-Arba'in appeared the settlements of al-'Esêle and Abu-l-Ḥamâme. Stopping from 2.55 to 3.25 in 'Ezzeddîn, a large settlement on a creek of the same name, we drew a map of the neighborhood. This 'Ezzeddîn is situated at the western base of the low hillocks Tlûl al-Ḥomr, which stretch from south to north. On their eastern slopes lie the villages of Tell al-Ḥazne, 'Ejdûn, Slêm, and al-Midân. South of Tell al-Ḥazne is the village of Tell 'Amri.

Beginning at Tell ad-Dra' the country assumed an entirely different appearance; the slopes were gentle, the valleys wider and longer, there was an abundance of spring water and even several brooks. At 3.45 we saw on our right, in a broad valley which slopes northwestward, the large settlement of Dêrfûr with

In about the year 1261 Bîbars ordered the fort of Ṣumejmîs, which the Tartars had demolished, to be rebuilt (al-Maḳrîzî, *Sulûk* [Quatremère's transl.], Vol. 1, Part 1, p. 141). Ad-Dimîškî, *Nuḥba* (Mehren), p. 202, considers Šamsîn, Šamajmîs, and Salamja as belonging to the administrative district of Ḥomṣ.

its extensive gardens. This settlement is inhabited by Circassians. Northwest of Dêrfûr is the village of Tûmîn, and west of it lie the settlements of Ġerġise and ar-Rastan. At Dêrfûr the creek of 'Ajn al-Ĥsên joins the creek Se'en al-Miġma',



FIG. 87—Aš-Šbêt from al-Mrejrât (p. 200).

which rises near the hamlet of 'Ujûn Zât and which we crossed at 4.15, reaching at 4.40 the creek 'Ajn al-Ĥsên; by the latter are large irrigated gardens of the settlement of the same name, where we encamped at 5.38 (temperature at 6.50: 20° C).

The valley of 'Ajn al-Ĥsên begins southeast of the settlement of al-Forkłos, which lies on its left side as do also the villages of as-Sajjid, Ġarbûijje, Tell 'Ejfir, Abu Dâlje, al-Bwêr, Tell Bel'ân, al-Ġâbriijje, al-Mišrefe, and al-Wurêdi. On its right are aš-Šetlâja, Tell aš-Šnân, 'Abbâs, al-Ĥarrâķi, al-Rarr, aš-Šûkatlijje, aš-Šêĥ Ĥmêd, Tell Ġnênât, and Ummu Ġbâb.

Thursday, June 3, 1915. We started at 4.21 (temperature: 6° C) and at 4.40 sighted on our left the great pre-Roman camp of al-Mišrefe, fortified by a high rampart and to the west of which lay a settlement of considerable size. To the southwest before us in the rays of the rising sun glistened the snow on the summits of Mount Lebanon. At 5.15 we saw to the southeast the hamlets of aš-Šêĥ Ĥmêd and al-Ġâbriijje and at 5.35 on the right of the road the Se'en al-Asmar ruins, with, to the west of them, a white hill on which were scattered the white huts of Tell Bîse. To the north-northwest in the plain emerged the houses of the town of ar-Rastan. At 6.18 we passed the spring of Se'en al-Asmar, at 6.34 the ruins Tell al-Ĥaddâh, and at 6.55 the vineyards and fields of the settlement of Zejdal. At 9.15 al-Fêrûzi was on our left, and to the southeast appeared the huge Tell Zbejde with the little hamlet al-Ġdejde to the west of it; north of al-Fêrûzi rose the high, red Tell Ĥânûn.

From 9.56 to 11.24 we rested. At 11.36 (temperature: 21° C) we reached the village of al-Meskene, where quite a

number of houses were deserted and in ruins. At 3.08 we were south of the settlement of Šinšâr on the road from Ḥomṣ to Damascus, which we now took. A strong, cold northwest wind was blowing all the time. At 3.16 on our right were the ruined



FIG. 88—Drejb al-Wâwi (p.201).

houses of the hamlet of Šamsîn. To the northeast lay Umm Dûlâb and Kaff al-Kalb, and to the east al-Manzûl, southeast of which is ar-Rkâma; still farther east are al-ʿAzîzîje and al-Balha. Al-Balha is situated on the western foot of the elevation Taraḡ Hôlâje. At four o'clock to the east-southeast the hamlet of Ġandar could be seen and southeast of it the large Umm al-Afâweʿ ruins; the hamlets of ʿÂlijjât and aš-Šaʿêrât were a little farther along in the same direction. At 5.15 we rode across the wide *šeʿib* of ar-Rbejʿa, at 5.45 across the *šeʿib* of al-Ḥasja,

and at 5.52 we made camp near the settlement of al-Ḥasja,⁶⁷ which is located in a barren basin shut in on the north, east, and south by the white, rocky hillocks of at-Tafrîʿ. Northeast of al-Ḥasja lies the village of al-Ḥarbijje, south of which — southeast of al-Ḥasja — appeared the village of Denderân, and still farther to the southeast the village of al-Ḥamra (temperature at 7: 11° C).

On Friday, June 4, 1915, we left at 4.08 (temperature: 12.6° C). At 4.20 on the left of the road was a demolished military post. At 4.35 we observed to the northeast the long, low rise of the Taraḡ Hôlâje and west of it the white heights of Ḥazm at-Tafrîʿ bordering al-Ḥasja on the east. At six

⁶⁷ Thevenot, *Voyages* (Amsterdam, 1727), Vol. 2, p. 90, relates that he camped near the station of Assia. There was a small fort and a large khan built of hewn stones in the place. Below the gate of the khan markets were held, as in Cteifa. On the western and on half of the eastern side of the khan there were vaulted chambers for travelers; on all other sides were the selling booths. A gate in the center of the eastern side led into the second courtyard, where rooms were built for the travelers a little above the ground, with two or three steps up to each to separate them from the space allotted to the animals. In the middle of the yard was a small square mosque with a whitewashed dome and an adjoining fountain with good drinking water spouting from it on three different sides. From the second court yard there was an entrance into a place called The Manor, although it was nothing but an enclosure with low walls where, at the time, a number of families, mostly Greek, were living. About fifty paces from this so-called manor was a hamlet, of which only a passing glimpse could be caught, since it consisted merely of twenty low mud huts built in a large moat so deep that not even the roofs rose above its sides. Anyone standing on the edge of the moat might easily mistake the huts for boulders in a quarry.

o'clock we passed on our right the ruined pigeon tower al-Brejġ.⁶⁸

Our camels grazed from 6.20 to 6.54. At 7.14 near the dome of al-Mdawwara we crossed the deep *šē'ib* of Šekîf al-Ĉebîr. At 7.35 there rose on the southeast the high crest of the Šē'eb al-Lôz, which extends under various names from the southwest as far as the hillocks of Mašġûkt Mhîn. The last named lay to the east-southeast of us. The eastern part of the Šē'eb al-Lôz is called al-Ķawdân and is separated by the pass Tenijjet al-Ĥabra from the Šē'eb al-Lôz proper, in which there is the pass Tenijjet aš-Šē'eb. Through the latter a road leads southeast to the Ĥân al-Abjaz. North of this high ridge extends the depression of Ĥmêrt al-Ĥabbâz, which is covered with low hillocks and across which Wâdi Zâbûr winds in a northeasterly direction. Adjoining this *wâdi*, almost due north of the Tenijjet aš-Šē'eb, lies the village of al-Ĥmêra; and farther to the north-northeast are Ġubb Šâ'er, al-Ĥafar, ar-Rĥejbe, and Šadad. Beyond the last named the *wâdi* disappears; after good rains, however, the water runs down as far as ar-Rbej'a, near the settlement of al-Ĥasja.

At 7.42 we saw at about six kilometers to the northeast the Burġ Jûnes ruins. The barley in the fields about us was scarcely ten centimeters high and badly scorched. At 8.15 we were at the hamlet of al-Brejġ, where there are remains of a demolished khan built in the Middle Ages of hewn blocks left over from the time of the Roman domination. Near the entrance to the khan stands a sarcophagus. Beyond here the road leads across ravines and steep slopes. At 9.15 we passed on our left in a deep ravine the spring of at-Taĥta with a hut close by.

The region was becoming drearier and more desolate at every step. Bare limestone domes and cones rose to the east and south, with the high crest of the Šē'eb al-Lôz range projecting from behind them. The smaller plains and fields were all sown with grain, but to no purpose; everything was dried up. At 9.52 two springs, 'Ujûn al-'Alaġ, lay to our left in a gully, with a garden and a hut beside them; south of them rose a conical hillock with a shrine on top. At 10.10 we passed a third spring of al-'Alaġ. To the southeast we sighted the broad depression of Ĥmêrt al-Ĥabbâz, which winds

⁶⁸ Thevenot, *loc. cit.*, writes that he and his companions passed a rather small fortress called El Bouraidġe (al-Burejġe), the gates of which were studded with iron and with loopholes in the walls.

along the foot of the Še'eb al-Lôz and was cultivated in some places. On the east was seen the plain between Mhîn and Šadad and to the south-southeast the orchards of the big settlement of al-Kâra. At 10.20 (temperature: 22° C) we had on our right



FIG. 89—Ḥanāṣer from al-Mrejrat (p. 203).

the spring 'Ajn al-Ḳoṭne. From 10.30 to 11.49 we stayed in the valley of al-Ḳoṭne and sketched the neighborhood.

AL-KÂRA TO AL-ḲṬEJFE

The settlement of al-Kâra, which we next passed through, takes its name from a large, white tabular hill, on the western side of which it was erected. Its church is an old building in the Syrian architectural style, with a gabled roof. On the left of the road is the finely ornamented gate of an old khan and a house with two niches, and an artistic lintel. On the outside all the huts were very clean, and the gardens were kept in excellent condition.⁶⁹

The easiest road from the Ḥân al-Abjaz to al-Kâra is through the pass Tenijjet aš-Še'eb.

⁶⁹ Jākūt, *Mu'ğam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 4, pp. 12 f., writes that Kâra is a large settlement and the first station on the road from Ḥoms to Damascus. It marked the boundary line between the administrative districts Ḥoms and Damascus, being built on the top of a tabular hill called Kâra. Its inhabitants were all Christians, who cultivated fields irrigated by the neighboring springs.

In 1266 Sultan Bibars was hunting in the vicinity of Ğerūd. Later he returned to Damascus, whence at the end of September of the same year he marched on Ḥama'. While in camp at Kâra, he heard that the Christians of that place held intercourse with their brethren of the town of Aere. He ordered the settlement to be pillaged and the women and children led into slavery. The local churches were then converted into mosques and Turkomans were brought in as settlers (al-Mağrīzī, *Sulūk* [Quatremère's transl.], Vol. 1, Part 2, p. 34).

Thevenot (*op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 705; Vol. 2, p. 89) visited the settlement of Kâra twice. He states that there were two khans in the settlement and a Greek church consecrated to St. George. A creek ran by. Various ruins proved that formerly buildings of much larger dimensions must have existed in the place. The Greeks, who then formed a considerable part of the population, owned a church adorned with fine paintings. According to them Kâra was once a famous town... About two miles from Kâra was a stronghold called Cosseitel, with a spring inside its walls that filled a pond twenty paces long. For night quarters it was necessary to go from there to Assia. —

"Cosseitel," the diminutive of al-Kaṣṭal, is to be sought at 'Ujûn al-'Alaḳ, five kilometers north. "Assia" is Ḥasja.

At 12.45 the spring ʿAjn al-Mazraʿ was on our right and at 1.20 we crossed the *šēʿīb* of al-Ġrejġir, which rises west of the settlement of the same name on the right of our route and extends to the village of Dejr ʿAṭijje, lying on the road from the pass of aš-Šeʿeb. From this pass the Šeʿeb al-Lôz range rises gradually to the northeast, but to the southwest it falls away gently as far as the settlement of Nebk. At 2.15 we saw to the southeast the pass of al-ʿArkûb, separating the Šeʿeb al-Lôz from al-Ḥaḳla. A road leads from the Ḥân Ġnejġel, lying to the south, by way of the monastery Dejr Mar Mûsa to the settlement of Nebk, lying to the north. From 2.35 to 3.00 we let our camels graze.

We had now before us the settlement of Nebk and southwest of it that of Jabrûd. The town of Nebk is located on the northern foot of a spur of the range to the south and is encircled both on the north and northeast with fine orchards. At 3.40 we came to the abundant spring at Nebk. In this settlement, as in al-Ķâra, cleanliness is strictly observed, and each hut boasts a well-kept little garden in front of it.⁷⁰

At 3.50 we sighted Jabrûd to the southwest. From there a road leads through the pass of al-Ḥaġûle across the Šeʿeb al-Lôz range southward to an-Nâşrijje. Because of its low grade, the al-Ḥaġûle road is the easiest one to travel. Camels carrying heavy loads can go through the pass of al-Ḥaġûle only.⁷¹

We now rode across the white plain of Mlêṭa. This plain, as well as the slopes thereabouts, was plowed and sown, but the grain was very sparse and short. There had been no rain since February, it was said, and the peasants were threatened with famine. At 5.18 we crossed the road running from the north to Jabrûd and thence through the pass

⁷⁰ Wright, *Catalogue* (1870—1872), p. 468, col. 1, mentions the monastery of Natfa' at Zakl near Tudmor, which possessed a manuscript from Abu Karib's time (sixth century after Christ). He adds that later this manuscript became the property of the monastery of Mar Mûsa, situated on a hill east of Nefata, a hamlet in the province of Damascus. — The name of Nefata, or Nefaka as it is sometimes spelled, is undoubtedly an erroneous transcription of Nebka, the modern Nebk. The monastery of Mar Mûsa lies by the pass of al-ʿArkûb, on a road leading to Nebk.

Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, pp. 739f., states that an-Nebk is a fine, wealthy settlement between Ḥoms and Damascus and has a famous spring, the water of which is said to be deliciously pure and cool even in the height of summer. The water is supposed to come from Jabrûd.

The settlement of Nebk visited by Thevenot (*op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 89) was built on the top of an elevation, below which ran a creek with a three-arched bridge. Not far from it a khan had been built of hewn stone from the quarry near by. The settlement was inhabited by Greeks, and the creek was bordered by several gardens planted chiefly with vines.

⁷¹ I am of the opinion that Assurbanipal defeated the rebellious nomads in 648—647 B.C. in this gap, which leads to Jabrûd (Annals [Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. 5 pl. 7], col. 7, l. 110; Streck, *Assurbanipal* [1916], Vol. 2, p. 64).

of al-Ḥaḡûle farther south, a wide and well trodden track, evidently much used. At 5.55 we had on our left the old fortress and khan of al-Ḳaṣṭal on a white hillock, right behind which was a small settlement with a church. On the slope of



FIG. 90—'Alês (p. 206).

the Še'eb al-Lôz range to the east of us were seen several groves and two springs, and in a valley on the right gardens of large dimensions. At 6.08 we made camp in a field southwest of the settlement. Our hungry camels scattered in all directions. The gendarme escorting us complained like a child and shook with fever; his stallion got loose and ran away to the settlement (temperature at 7.30: 15°C).

On Saturday, June 5, 1915, we started out at 4.12 (temperature: 14.5°C). The part of the Še'eb al-Lôz range rising east of al-Ḳaṣṭal is called al-Ḳabbâs. After 4.40 we rode down the basin Ḥrejġ al-Mâl to the še'ib of 'Ajn at-Tîne, which has eroded its valley southwards through the Še'eb al-Lôz range. From 5.36 to 6.10 our camels grazed. At 6.50 on our left were the Umm as-Saḥîn ruins, where ancient gateposts are still standing. At eight o'clock we entered the gorge of 'Ajn at-Tîne. At 8.25 we had the mill of al-'Arûs on our right and about one hundred meters farther, on the left, the demolished Ḥân al-'Arûs. Beyond this point the channel sinks into a narrow, deep ravine, while the road high above has had to be laboriously carved from the rocky cliffs by the hand of man. At 8.40 we had on our right in a short gully the spring 'Ajn at-Tîne, and at 9.15 we passed out of the gorge near the Ḥân al-Ma'eze (temperature: 24.3°C).

Right at our feet a basin spread out to the northeast, in the southwestern part of which lay the settlements of al-Ḳṭejfe,⁷² with ar-Rḥejbe in the southeastern part and al-Mu'azzamijje nearly in the center.

⁷² In February, 1304, the Emir Nu'ejr gathered together great numbers of Arabs with whom he encamped near Tadmur, while Tamerlane marched with his army from Damascus to al-Ḳṭejfe (Ibn Taḡri Birdi, *Nuḡâm* [Popper], Vol. 6, p. 72).

Thevenot, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 85 f., writes that Cteifa is a large settlement having an extensive khan with fairly high walls of hewn stone. Two large gates with small side doors lead into it from the north and south. Through the south gate one entered a long vaulted corridor, and on either side were stalls where the traveler could buy anything he needed; this gate was also the entrance to the cellar and the bath. From the arched corridor

Southeast of al-Mu‘azzamijje the white shrine of Abu Sa‘îd came into view. The hillocks of ad-Dahab shut in the basin on the south. From 9.30 to 10.58 we stayed in the fields, here covered with coarse gravel, and sketched a map.

AL-KṬEJFE TO DAMASCUS

At 11.40 we left the settlement of al-Kṭejfe and went slowly up toward the pass of al-Hwa’ over the Kalamûn or ar-Rawâk mountain chain, which reaches from Damascus to the Euphrates. Arriving at the pass at 12.20 and casting a last look at the basin to the north, we sighted on the northeast the glistening surface of the salina Mellâha Ğerûd, which was shut in on the northwest by black gardens. As early as 12.32 we had below us the boundless lowland of al-Rûṭa with the gardens of Damascus and numerous settlements; at 12.40 we went by a half-demolished khan and a capacious cistern. Near the khan lay a few fragments of broken pillars. At 2.15 on our left we passed the little shrine Ḳubbt al-‘Aṣâfir, built in its lower part in the form of a square and higher up like an octagon with a dome on top. At 2.26 we had on our left the Ḥân ‘Ajjâš, built from old Roman stonework, with a reservoir behind it and to the east of the khan a dilapidated shrine.⁷³

Our camels grazed from 2.28 to 2.58. At 3.37 on the left lay a heap of ruins; at 3.52 the road to ‘Adra’ turned off, and at 4.32 we reached the Ḥân al-Kṣejr. At five o’clock we made camp. The camels were to remain in the pasture and then to follow me to Damascus, where they were to meet

a door led into a large square yard, about which were spaces reserved for caravans. On each side of this yard was a gate, the eastern and western ones being studded with iron. Through the northern gate the way led to a mosque with a handsome dome and a minaret. The eastern gate led into another vaulted corridor, with rooms for travelers on both sides, and then into another paved courtyard, in the center of which was a square pond, faced with hewn stone, where the beasts brought to the khan were watered. The pond was filled through a little aqueduct from a creek east of the khan. The paved yard was surrounded by a colonnade supported by eleven columns on each of its long sides and nine on its shorter ones. Outside the colonnade were vaulted stables and chambers with stores, and on each side of the yard there was a single gate. Above the settlement there also rose a huge round tower.

⁷³ The Ḥân ‘Ajjâš I regard as the station of Thelsea of the *Antonine Itinerary*, 196 : 2 (Parthey and Pinder’s edit., p. 88).

Thelsee was garrisoned by the *equites Saraceni*, under the command of the *dux Foenicis* (*Notitia dignitatum*, Oriens, 32, Nos. 13 and 28).

The plain south of the Ḥân ‘Ajjâš is the famous camping ground of the Merğ Râheṭ. Ibn al-Kalânisi, *Daḡl* (Amedroz), p. 273, writes that ‘Imâdaddîn Atabeg, returning from Damascus with rich spoils in the second half of March, 1149, encamped at the Merğ Râheṭ, after which he took the road to the north. — This road is identical with the road running past the Ḥân ‘Ajjâš to Ḥomṣ. It is evident from this that the Merğ Râheṭ is to be sought behind the entrance of the pass of al-‘Oḳâb — that is, in the eastern vicinity of the modern Ḥân al-Kṣejr.

me at the shrine of aš-Šejḥ Ruslân. My companions, Ḥalaf, Nâṣer, and the gendarme, stayed with them, while I left for Damascus to make the necessary arrangements. The ride through the garden district was delightful. The wild rambler roses clinging to the low walls were a mass of white blossoms; among the green leaves of the apricot trees the ripening fruit shone like gold, while the air was filled with the fragrance of drying grain. Away from the wilderness, back to seclusion and safety, with the consciousness of work well done.

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX I

PTOLEMY ON SOUTHEASTERN SYRIA

Ptolemy, *Geography*, V, 14: 5, places the southeastern end of Syria at long. 73° 20' E., lat. 35° 5' N., or, in topographical terms, right at the point where the Euphrates runs past Thapsacus. His Greek sources, dating from the time either of Alexander or of the first Seleucids, without doubt mentioned the important point of Thapsacus both as a junction and as the starting point of several commercial roads. But we do not know whether the old Thapsacus lay on the boundary between Syria and Arabia in Ptolemy's time; nor may we concede this as probable, as it would be in direct contradiction to other statements of Ptolemy. He mentions (*ibid.*, V, 18) Thapsacus as a town lying in Arabia Deserta. This is impossible, because the old ford of Thapsacus cannot be looked for so far south. The astronomical position of Ptolemy's demarcation point between Syria and Arabia on the Euphrates brings us very close to the mouth of the river Chaboras (al-Ḥâbûr), lat. 35° 10' N., or even to the south or southeast of there, perhaps to where the modern town of al-Mijâdîn is situated. According to other sources, however, the old Thapsacus was west or northwest of Nicephorium (ar-Raḡḡa) and therefore over 950 stades northwest of the demarcation point fixed by Ptolemy, showing that the latter does not agree with the true location of Thapsacus. On the other hand the boundary line between Syria and Arabia Deserta established by Ptolemy on the Euphrates at lat. 35° 5' N. agrees perfectly with the nature of the ground, because a straight line drawn from this point southwestward marks the boundary between the fertile and once cultivated lands on one side and the sterile regions on the other. As numerous ruins show, this natural frontier lies more than 130 kilometers southeast of Nicephorium and consequently far from the old Thapsacus ford. But since classical authorities before Ptolemy's time referred to the Arabs and Arabia as if they were in the immediate neighborhood of the old Thapsacus — for they stated that the territory on both the right and left banks of the Euphrates south and east of Thapsacus belonged to the Arabs, and hence this territory might well have been considered part of Arabia —, it is possible that the actual sources used by Ptolemy may have referred to the old Thapsacus as a boundary station between Syria and Arabia in the larger sense of the word, and this may well explain why Ptolemy himself placed his Thapsacus on the line between Syria and Arabia Deserta. According to the Arabic writers Arabia in the larger sense reached as far as the settlement of Bâlis: that is, to the vicinity of the old Thapsacus; but the desert of as-Samâwa, identical with Ptolemy's Arabia Deserta, ended at the modern town of al-Mijâdîn. (On the Thapsacus of Ptolemy and of earlier writers see also the author's *The Middle Euphrates* [New York, 1927], pp. 219, 340f.)

Syria, as far as we are concerned, is divided by Ptolemy (*op. cit.*, V, 14: 13, 15, 16, 18, 19) into the following districts: Chalybonitis, Apamene, Laodicene, Coele-Syria, and Palmyrena.

CHALYBONITIS

In Chalybonitis Ptolemy mentions the following towns: Thema, Acoraba, Derrhima, Chalybon, Spelunca, and, on the Euphrates, Barbalissus and Athis.

Müller, in his edition of Ptolemy's *Geography*, p. 974, expresses the opinion that Thema was a misrendering of Thelda, which is not unlikely. The Roman post of Thelda, or Theleda of the *Peutinger Table* (Vienna, 1884), Segm. 10, the Tell 'Ada' of today, lies 32 kilometers east-southeast of Ḥama'; 35 kilometers north-northeast of Ḥama', however, stand the ruins of the large settlement of aṭ-Ṭamme, which might be identified with an ancient Thema.

Acoraba, erroneously given as Akoraka in the *editio princeps* of the Greek text (Basel, 1533), is identical with Occaraba of the *Peutinger Table*, *loc. cit.*, the modern 'Užêribât, 76 kilometers southeast of Ḥama'.

To other classical writers Derrhima was unknown. Ptolemy puts it about 450 stades (or 71 kilometers) north of Palmyra. Not only were data given in his sources as a rule very superficial, but his figures were themselves confused by the copyists; hence it would be a wonder, indeed, if the latter agreed with the reality. For this reason the location of places mentioned by Ptolemy cannot be determined by reference to his manuscripts alone. It happens, however, that 80 kilometers north-northwest of Palmyra and 47 kilometers northeast of the site of Acoraba are the ruins of a once important town of Seriana, indicated both in the *Antonine Itinerary* and *Peutinger Table*, and it would be remarkable if Ptolemy had failed to refer to it. Now, as Seriana written in Greek capitals might easily be wrongly transcribed as Derrhima, I would suggest reading Seriana instead of Derrhima in Ptolemy. Seriana is identical with the great Serija (or Esrija) ruins, at the northern foot of the Palmyrene mountains and at the junction of roads running from north to south and from northeast to west.

Müller's statement (*ibid.*) that it is necessary to differentiate between Seryie or Seridchi (Esrija) and the Seriana of the *Antonine Itinerary*, now called Serin and lying about thirty-five Roman miles southwest of Serie, is entirely erroneous, since Müller substitutes Serin for the correct as-Se'en.

Spelunca (*var.*, Spelueca, Speluema), meaning cave, is the Latin translation of the native place name Morâra, now applied to a large ruin and a hamlet called al-Mrejrât, 65 kilometers north-northeast of Ḥelbân on the road from there, or from Serija, to Bâlis.

Barbalissus is the present settlement of Bâlis, 65 kilometers east-northeast of al-Mrejrât.

Athis may be identified with the ad-Dibsi ruins, twelve kilometers southeast of Bâlis.

Commentators on Ptolemy's *Geography*, notably Benzinger (Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, Vol. 3, cols. 2100—2101), have expressed the opinion that the name Chalybon is derived from Ḥelbûn or Halbûn (about 16 kilometers north-northwest of Damascus), and that the name Chalybonitis was in turn derived from Chalybon. Streck and Nöldeke, however, argue that the district of Chalybonitis centered, not about the site of, the modern Ḥelbûn, but around Beroea (in Cyrrhastica), the modern Aleppo.

Streck (*ibid.*, Supplement 1, cols. 248, 282) holds that Ptolemy confused Ḥalmân or Ḥalab-an, the old native name of Beroea, with the name Chalybon. Nöldeke, *Topographie* (1875), p. 436, note 1, on the other hand, believes that, as the native name of Beroea was not Ḥalbûn but Ḥalab, the name Chalybonitis for the vicinity of this town must have been erroneously transferred from the actual Chalybon (Helbûn) in southern Syria. Nöldeke furthermore asserts that Ptolemy in listing *both* Chalybon (in Chalybonitis) and Beroea (in Cyrrestica) and thereby, presumably, mentioning the same place under two different names does nothing that need be wondered at, considering the manner in which his work was compiled.

Streck and Nöldeke have no valid grounds for their assertions. Ptolemy for his geography of Syria surely must have used almost exclusively Greek and Roman sources, in which no name other than Beroea was employed for Ḥaleb (Aleppo). The latter lay in the Seleucid province of Cyrrestica, where Ptolemy correctly places Beroea. During the disruption of the Seleucid power, a semi-independent state was formed by Heracleon in 96 B. C. out of territories belonging to the towns of Bambyce (Hierapolis), Heracleia, and Beroea (Strabo, *Geography*, XVI, 2:7); after 88 B. C. this state was ruled by Strato, but it appears to have perished before 64 B. C. If Ptolemy had been thinking of this former state in referring to Chalybonitis, he surely would not have named it after Beroea (Chalab) but after the far more important Bambyce (Hierapolis). Moreover, in Ptolemy's Chalybonitis there is neither a Bambyce (Hierapolis) nor a Heracleia. How far south the former state reached we do not know, but its southern boundary was undoubtedly far north of the straight line running eastwards from Apamea or Chalcis (Ḳinnesrîn) that marks the northern frontier of the region which I identify with Ptolemy's Chalybonitis, as will be explained below. Had Ptolemy, through false information, confused Chalybonitis and the territory of Beroea, he surely would have mentioned some of the same towns in both regions; but, as a matter of fact, not a single town that he places with Beroea in Cyrrestica appears in his Chalybonitis.

The native name of Beroea was Chalab. The form Ḥalmân, which Streck (*loc. cit.*) sees as the origin of Ptolemy's Chalybon and Chalybonitis, is found only in Egyptian and Assyrian sources. It would indeed be remarkable if this foreign form had persisted for six hundred years after the downfall of the Assyro-Babylonian rule, especially when the town itself had had for more than three hundred years a new and different name (Beroea). It would also be unusual if the foreign form Ḥalmân had been given to the district lying to the south which I identify with Chalybonitis and which never belonged to Beroea. Furthermore, across this district a much-frequented commercial road led from Chalcis (Ḳinnesrîn) to Barbalissus; and the town of Chalab (Beroea), located as it was at some distance from this commercial road, before and even during Ptolemy's time was less important than Chalcis. Therefore it would have been more reasonable for Ptolemy to join this district to Chalcis and call it Chalcidice than to Beroea and give it the foreign name of Chalybonitis.

Whereas Streck (*loc. cit.*) argues that Ptolemy confused Chalab (Beroea) with Chalybon, Müller (*op. cit.*, p. 970) asserts that Chalybon differs from Chalab (Beroea) and identifies it (*ibid.*, p. 975), as does

Nöldeke (who separates the town of Chalybon from the district Chalybonitis), with the settlement of Ḥelbûn, north-northwest of Damascus. We cannot be sure, however, that any district was ever named after this settlement, and Müller submits no valid [proof to this effect. He merely cites certain ancient texts in which it is stated that the vine flourished in Chalybonitis, the most fertile district of Syria. These texts, he believes, make it impossible to associate Chalybonitis with the vicinity of Beroea — where, he asserts, the vine was not cultivated — but justify him in identifying the former with the region south of Chalcis adjoining Chalybon and Damascus, a region which Müller claims to be “the most fertile district of Syria.”

As a matter of fact, in this latter district — that is, in the mountains northwest of Damascus and northeast of Ḥelbûn — agriculture is restricted to a few valleys, whereas the hilly volcanic country east and northeast of Ḥama', south of Beroea, and south and east of Chalcis ad Belum is excellently adapted to viticulture (Pliny, *Naturalis historia*, V, 81; XII, 132f.). Nowhere in Syria have I found more extensive remains of old vineyards than where the wide, shallow valleys and numerous plains are very fertile and strewn with hundreds of ruins. In this region, at 23 kilometers northeast of Ḥama', are the huge, partly re-peopled ruins of Ḥelbân, which I assume to be Ptolemy's Chalybon. The Arabic form Ḥelbân exactly tallies with the Aramaic Chalybon.

Taking this into consideration and judging from the other place names given by Ptolemy, we may conclude that the Chalybonitis of Ptolemy probably extended north as far as the fertile lowland of Chalcis (Ḳinnesrîn), the range al-Ḥaṣṣ, the salina of Ġabbûl, and the Euphrates at the Bâlis ruins; that on the east it extended along the Euphrates as far as the bend where the river turns due east near Abu Hrêra; and on the south that it reached to the head of the *še'îb* of Selmâs, to the northern foot of the range of Abu Riġmên, and to the southern end of the volcanic region of al-'Ala', the western flanks of which formed its western boundary. The western and northeastern parts of Chalybonitis might be cultivated and were once inhabited, as countless ruins witness. Its southeastern part formed and still forms a grassy plain with good pasture.

The Chalybonitis of Ptolemy, therefore, probably corresponds to the region of al-'Ala' and its eastern vicinity. Syria is characterized by well-defined topographical regions of this sort, which have always formed independent political, or at least administrative, units. This is as true now as it was in Ptolemy's time and before. Strabo (*op. cit.*, XVI, 2: 11) knew, to the east of Apamea and south of Chalcidice, of the territory of Parapotamia, with the town of Themella. Themella must be a misspelling of Theledda, the modern Tell 'Ada' in the region of al-'Ala'. Evidently the Parapotamia of Strabo should be identified with the region al-'Ala' and with the districts into which it merges on the east. Pliny, *op. cit.*, V, 89, in writing about Palmyrena, mentions a territory of Telendena, which also constituted the wider environs of Tell 'Ada' in the modern region of al-'Ala'. No wonder, then, that Ptolemy also placed an independent region which he called Chalybonitis south of Chalcidice and west of Apamea, this region representing the entire Parapotamia of Strabo and possibly the entire Telendena of Pliny. It was named Chaly-

bonitis after the town of Chalybon (Helbân) and was as famous for its wine as was Pliny's Parapotamia (*ibid.*, XII, 132f.).

APAMENE, LAODICENE, AND COELE-SYRIA

According to Ptolemy (*op. cit.*, V, 14: 15) the vicinity of Emisa (Homs) formed a part of Apamene and the vicinity of Iabruda (Jabrûd) (*ibid.*, 16) a part of Laodicene; the inhabited district east and northeast of Damascus belonged to Coele-Syria.

PALMYRENA

In Palmyrena, Ptolemy included (*ibid.*, V, 14: 19) Resapha, Cholle, Oriza, Putea, Adada, Palmyra, Adacha, Danaba, Goaria, Aueria, Casama, Admana, Atera, and, on the Euphrates, Alalis, Sura, and Alamatha.

The first three lay on the Roman road from the Euphrates to Palmyra and are identical with the present ar-Reşâfa, al-Ḥulle, and aṭ-Ṭajjibe ruins. Aṭ-Ṭajjibe in the Middle Ages bore the name 'Orđ (or 'Orz).

Putea, Adada, Adacha, Danaba, and Goaria.

Putea is unmistakably the Roman post Centum Putea of the *Peutinger Table* (Segm. 10), which was in all likelihood called Beriarac by the natives; it is probably the Bijâr Ġhâr of today, situated on the Roman road from Palmyra to Occaraba ('Uẓêribât). Müller, in his edition of Ptolemy's *Geography*, p. 983, and Moritz, *Palmyrene* (1889), p. 8, identify Putea with Abu-l-Fawâres, seven kilometers west-southwest of Palmyra, but this seems impossible, as there is only a single well at Abu-l-Fawâres, the water of which formerly ran to Palmyra through an aqueduct, and no ruins of any considerable extent remain. Besides, it would be hard to understand why the Romans should have built a station in a perfectly safe place not more than four miles (7 km.) from Palmyra. In the face of these difficulties Moritz (*loc. cit.*) proposes alternatively to identify Putea with al-Ḳaṭṭâr, "the only place where there is water." Al-Ḳaṭṭâr is situated in the mountains about twenty-five kilometers northeast of Palmyra, whereas Centum Putea is shown on the *Peutinger Table* as lying on the road from Occaraba ('Uẓêribât) to Palmyra, therefore to the west of the latter and on the southern slope of the mountains. Moreover, al-Ḳaṭṭâr is not the only watering place in the region, since the mountain range north and west of Palmyra abounds in natural wells, both old and new.

Adada (*var.*, Adda) is identical with the Roman military station of the same name (*Notitia dignitatum*, Oriens 33, No. 19), the Roman camp now known as al-Ḥêr, about fourteen kilometers southeast of aṭ-Ṭajjibe (Oriza). This camp stands on the western foot of the hillocks of ad-Dîdi, the name of which reminds one of the old Adada. Müller (*op. cit.*, p. 984) suggest that Adada was the *hirbet* "Aschika" (al-'Âşže) 17 kilometers southeast of Esrija at the northern foot of the Palmyrene mountain range; this, however, lies in a region which must have belonged to the Chalybonitis of Ptolemy.

Adacha, like Aratha of the *Notitia dignitatum*, Oriens 33, No. 11, is a false transcription of the Harac of the *Peutinger Table*, Segm. 11. The form Aratha (in *Not. dig.*, Oriens 33, No. 20, corrupted into Anatha) originated from Aracha (the *c* being changed to *t* when written in minuscule). It is the modern Raka (or Arak), northeast of Palmyra.

Danaba (*var.*, Danama, Adanaba) lay, according to the *Peutinger Table*, *loc. cit.*, on the Roman road from Damascus to Palmyra. It is identical with the al-Baṣīri ruins.

Goaria is likewise mentioned by Stephen of Byzantium, *Ethnica* (Meineke), p. 210, as Goareia. Since a whole Arabian district is named after this town, it is safe to assume that it was of considerable importance even beyond its immediate neighborhood. This would seem to apply to the great al-Bhara ruins, 26 kilometers south of Palmyra, formerly the only commercial center of the nomads, since these ruins lay outside of the circle of Roman border fortifications. We may therefore place Goaria and Goarene, the district bearing its name, in Arabia. Stephen of Byzantium locates Goareia near Damascus; it should be remembered, however, that this town was directly connected with Damascus by a commercial road and that al-Bhara belonged to the ecclesiastical province of Damascus.

That Goareia was the Aramaic name of the ruins of al-Bhara is evident when the Arabic and Syriac reports of the murder of the caliph al-Walīd II are compared. According to all the Arabic sources this caliph was killed in the manor of al-Bahra close by the settlement of the same name, whereas a Syriac writer, the Pseudo-Dionysius of Tell Mahre', *Chronicle* (Chabot), p. 33, states that the murder happened near ('*al genab*') the town of Kōari. The Syriac '*al genab*' indicates immediate proximity, as, for instance, in the phrase '*āna 'al genab prat*' ('Āna which lies by the Euphrates'). The Syriac Kōari also corresponds to Goareia or Goarei, as the *k* may correctly be transcribed as *g*.

Moritz (*Palmyrene* [1889], p. 22), Müller (*op. cit.*, p. 984), and Benzinger (in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, Vol. 7, col. 1547) all identify Goaria with the Cehere of the *Peutinger Table*, *loc. cit.* The Latin Cehere (Kehere) probably conceals a native word designating the Roman post as a dreaded fortress, whereas *goaria* means a rounded basin. The station of Cehere, which I identify with the ruins of the Ḥān 'Anejbe, lies over one hundred kilometers southwest of al-Bhara, whereas, as we have seen, the '*al genab*' of the Pseudo-Dionysius presumes close proximity. It is therefore necessary to distinguish between Goaria and Cehere. We must also distinguish between Goaria and "Karyetin (al-Žerjitejn) in the district of Rouaria," which Müller, *loc. cit.*, proposed to identify with each other. A district with such a name as Rouaria is unknown in the neighborhood of al-Žerjitejn. To write, as does Moritz, *loc. cit.*, that Goaria and al-Kāra are the same is incorrect not only on account of their locations but also because of their names. According to Ptolemy Goaria was in Palmyrena, whereas the surroundings of the present town of al-Kāra he places in Laodicene, statements that we have no sufficient reason to alter. But even the names are not the same, since the Syrians make a sharp distinction between Kāra and Kōari, writing the first K'R', the second KWRJ. And we should make Ptolemy still more confusing should we, like Moritz, identify Coara, counted by Ptolemy (*Geography*, V, 14: 14)

among the towns of Chalcidice, with both Goaria in Palmyrena, and al-Ķâra in Laodicene. Moritz cites the Bishop Gerontius of Coara, who participated in the Council of Nicaea in 325. Yet the proper name of this bishop's seat cannot be stated with precision. In the Latin text of the signatures (Gelzer, *Patrum nicaenorum nomina* [1898], pp. 18f.) it is called either Carison or Larisa and all the other texts call it Larisa. But even if the reading Coara were justified, it still could not be identified with al-Ķâra, because Coara lay in the ecclesiastical province of Coele-Syria and al-Ķâra in that of Phoenicia.

Aueria, Casama, Admana, and Atera

Aueria (*var.*, Aueira, Aberia) is the same as the Eumari of the *Antonine Itinerary*, 195: 9 (Pinder and Parthey edit., p. 88); the Euhara or Euhari of the *Notitia dignitatum*, Oriens 32, Nos. 4, 19; the Euarius of Georgius Cyprius, *Descriptio* (Gelzer), p. 50, and the modern Hawwârîn.

Casama lay, according to the *Peutinger Table*, *loc. cit.*, on the Roman road from Damascus to Palmyra; I look for it in the ruins of the Ḥân al-Manḳûra.

Admana (*var.*, Odmána, Ogmana), or, according to the *Peutinger Table*, *loc. cit.*, Ad amana, was likewise on the Roman road, at the Ḥân at-Trâb.

Atera is perhaps the Adarin of the *Peutinger Table*, *loc. cit.* If this is the case, we should look for it in the ruins of the Ḥân aš-Šâmât.

Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 985, identifies Atera with Dejr 'Atijje, but this is impossible, the latter place surely having been in Laodicene.

Alalis, Sura, and Alamatha

On the Euphrates in Palmyrena, according to Ptolemy, lay the towns of Alalis, Sura, and Alamatha.

Sura is the Sure of the *Peutinger Table*, Segm. 11, or the modern Sûrija.

Other classical writers do not mention Alamatha at all, although the *Notitia dignitatum*, Oriens 33, No. 35, refers to Ammattha and Stephen of Byzantium, *Ethnica* (Meineke), p. 82, mentions Amatha, deriving this name from the Aramaic *ammu*; therefore Ammatha ought to be correct. Written in Greek capitals it could so easily have been corrupted into Alamatha, that the Alamatha of Ptolemy might well be identified with the Ammatha of the *Notitia dignitatum* and the Amatha of Stephen of Byzantium. Nevertheless, either Alamatha or Ammatha may have been the correct Aramaic form. Müller in his edition of Ptolemy's *Geography*, p. 985, compares Alamatha with the Acauatha of the *Notitia dignitatum*, Oriens 33, No. 22; this, however, is impossible, because the latter did not belong in the province of Augusta Eufkratensis.

According to Stephen of Byzantium Amatha was a settlement in Arabia. Ptolemy's latitude for Alamatha (35° 5' N.) would place it on the boundary line between Syria and Arabia Deserta near his ford Thapsacus; that is, below the point where the Chaboras river (al-Ḥâbûr, at 35° 10' N.) empties into the Euphrates. This brings us to the vicinity of the modern town of al-Mijâdîn. East of this town, beside a large island, the Euphrates turns almost due east. The channel here is broad and the current slow, and therefore the river is easy to cross. The convenient location of this

ford also proves its importance. The commercial road leading from Chalcis or Beroea crossed the Euphrates at Barbalissus (Bâlis), or a little north of it at Obbanes (Samûma) (see *The Middle Euphrates*, pp. 319f.), and joined the road to Edessa. At Sura another ford gave access to a road running from Nicephorium (Callinicus, ar-Raḡḡa) along the river Balichus (al-Baliḥ) northward. The ford at Alamatha conducted one across the Euphrates to Circesium and to the road leading along the Chaboras into the interior of Mesopotamia and to Armenia.

At Sura resided the *praefectus legionis sextaedecimae Flaviae firmae* (*Notitia dignitatum*, Oriens 33, No. 28); at Callinicus was the camp of the *equites promoti Illyriciani* (*ibid.*, 35, No. 16); Circesium was the seat of the *praefectus legionis Parthicae* (*ibid.*, No. 24), while at Ammatha (Alamatha) the frontier was guarded by the *cohors prima uictorum* (*ibid.*, 33, No. 35).

If we do not accept Ptolemy's indication that Alalis lay west of Sura, we might look for it halfway between Sura and Alamatha, in the Roman ruins at Ṭâbûs, following Isidore of Charax (*Mansiones parthicae* [Müller], p. 247), who puts the station of Allan (the name of which greatly resembles Alalis) almost opposite Ṭâbûs. Of course, the station named by Isidore is situated on the left bank of the Euphrates, but he applies also to other stations on the left bank the names of the settlements lying on the right bank or on the islands, a custom which still prevails on the Euphrates. These locations for Alalis and Alamatha are supported, if we reflect on the importance of Palmyra as a commercial center in the first centuries after Christ. Through the gap between the ranges of Abu Riġmên and al-Biṣri caravans came and went, plying between Palmyra and northern Mesopotamia and Armenia. Crossing the Euphrates at Sura, the north-bound caravans traveled northwards along the left bank of that river or along the river Balichus. But Palmyra also had important commercial relations with the Persian Gulf, Babylonia, and southern Mesopotamia.

During the rainy season the commercial caravans crossed the desert, but in the dry season they followed the rivers, which gave them water all the year round, provided there was a powerful government in control. Generally the caravans followed the southern base of the range of al-Biṣri to the Euphrates, east of which a natural road led into central Mesopotamia along the river al-Ḥâbûr and its tributaries. The old Royal Road paralleled the left bank of the Euphrates to southern Mesopotamia, Babylonia, and the Persian Gulf. The right bank was avoided by the caravans as much as possible, because it was much more intersected by gullies and ravines than the left. This was also one of the reasons why the Royal Road was built along the latter. That the most frequented passage across the Euphrates was below the mouth of al-Ḥâbûr is shown by the fact that the ford across this river was shunned not only by the caravans traveling beside it, but also by those on the left bank of the Euphrates. I judge, therefore, that the ford of the Palmyrene caravans going to Babylonia or central Mesopotamia is to be sought below the mouth of al-Ḥâbûr, at the site either of the modern town of al-Mijâḍin or at the aṣ-Ṣâlḥijje ruins. Were this true, the Palmyrene territory must have reached as far as here. Ptolemy's placing of Thapsacus on the right bank of the Euphrates below al-Ḥâbûr on the very border of Syria, Palmyrena, and

Arabia Deserta, would strengthen this theory. The Thapsacus of Ptolemy, therefore — necessarily a different Thapsacus from that of the older classical writers — would correspond to the ford used by the Palmyrene caravans. (See above p. 229.)

APPENDIX II

ROMAN ROADS IN PALMYRENA; THE ROMAN LIMES

ROMAN ROADS

According to the Antonine Itinerary

Several reports from the classical period about the highways of Palmyrena have been preserved.

The *Antonine Itinerary*, it seems, was published in the time of the emperor Antoninus Caracalla, but it also contains later amendments down to death of Constantine the Great. It is remarkable that in it no roads are referred to in Palmyrena proper.

The *Antonine Itinerary*, 195: 9-196: 3, lists a road from Eumari to Damascus and states that the distance from Eumari to Geroda is forty Roman miles. If in the word "Eumari" the letter *b* were substituted for *m*, this *b* representing an original *w*, we should have a word resembling Ḥuwwārīn, the Arabic name of the site of Eumari. Geroda is the large settlement of Ġerūd. The road went around the eastern side of the mountain range Še'eb al-Lôz, the distance amounting to about sixty kilometers, which would agree with the estimate of forty Roman miles.

From Geroda to Thelsea was 16 and from there to Damascus 24 miles. The station of Thelsea guarded the pass through which the descent to the lowland of Damascus was made. Since it was 16 miles thence to Geroda I look for Thelsea in the ruin at the Ḥân 'Ajjâš, 24 kilometers from Ġerūd. A garrison in the Ḥân 'Ajjâš could easily maintain order on the roads both to Ġerūd and to Dmejr, the latter being the old Roman post of Ad medera. From the Ḥân 'Ajjâš to Damascus is 27 kilometers, therefore only 18, not 24, miles.

The *Antonine Itinerary*, 194: 11-195: 3, describes the road from Beroea to Emesa — first the stretch from Beroea (Ḥaleb, or Aleppo) to Calcida (Chalcis), which is now represented by the ruins of the Arab town of Kīnnesrīn, 28 kilometers southwest of Aleppo.

The distance from Calcida to Androna is given as 27 miles. This station is to be sought in the ruined town of Anderīn, 63 kilometers southeast of Kīnnesrīn.

From Androna (Anderīn) to Seriane (*var.*, Seria) is given as 18 miles. The name Seriane or Seria would point to the extensive ruins at Serija, or Esrija, southeast of Anderīn; the distance between them is actually over 38 Roman miles (56 kilometers).

According to the *Antonine Itinerary*, 197: 5-198: 1, from Seriane a road led by way of Salaminiada (Salamja) to Emesa (Ḥoms); the distance from Seriane to Salaminiada was given as 32 miles. Salamja,

however, is not 32 Roman miles but 60 kilometers, or 40 Roman miles, west of Esrija.

The distance from Salamiñada to Emesa is given as 18 miles, though in reality it is 42 kilometers, or 28 miles. It is remarkable that Eumari (Hawwârîn) was in no way connected either with Seriane (Esrija), with Salamiñada (Salamja), or with Emesa (Ĥoms), although it was the starting point of a long road leading to the southwest. Possibly only a slight oversight is to blame for the fact that Eumari was not included in the net of roads of northeastern Syria. The most natural thing would have been a road from Seriane to Eumari through the sites of the present 'Užêribât, Ĥân abu Šindâh, and Ėbâb Hamed, in which there are still some remains of old buildings. A connecting road from Salamiñada to Eumari would have come near Emesa and for the first third of the distance would have coincided with the main road from Salamiñada to Emesa. The road shown on the *Peutinger Table*, Segm. 9, from Emesa to Adarin did not touch Eumari, but passed far to the west.

By studying the *Antonine Itinerary* we get a fairly good idea of the northern and western borders of Palmyrena, which at the time of the late Roman Empire was still largely independent. The Roman frontier posts were Seriane (Esrija), Salamiñada (Salamja), and Eumari (Ĥawwârîn). Seriane lay at the northern foot of a spur of the Abu Riġmên range, which thus in all probability belonged to Palmyrena in its entirety. If we admit the existence of a connecting road from Seriane to Eumari, then the present settlements 'Užêribât, Ĥân abu Šindâh, Abu Rubâh, and Ĥawwârîn on the western edge of the Bil'âs hillocks, mark the former western borders of Palmyrena. But even if a road from Seriane to Eumari was not built by the Romans, Palmyrena would not have stretched any farther west, because the territory belonging to Sampsiceramus' city of Emesa surely comprised the whole fertile country thirty to forty kilometers east of Emesa itself. The original town on the site of which al-Žerjitejn now stands was located either exactly on the border, or what is more likely, actually within the Roman province. Ėrûd and Dmejr al-'Atiže would not have fallen within Palmyrena. The *Peutinger Table* may be right in indicating that Casama (Ĥân al-Manġûra) marked the western boundary of Arabia or of the original Palmyrena. If so, the western boundary may well have passed by the sites of the Ĥân al-Manġûra, al-Žerjitejn, Abu Rubâh, Abu Šindâh, 'Užêribât, al-Ĥašal, and Esrija. How the line ran northeast of Seriane (Esrija), we do not know; but, as the *Antonine Itinerary* records no roads either to Sura or to Risapa (ar-Rešâfa) — these places being expressly counted by Ptolemy as belonging to Palmyrena —, the boundary must have been drawn from Seriane northeast to the Euphrates, which it probably met at Sephe (Abu Hrêra). This superficial delimitation is very serviceable in enabling us to locate the places in Palmyrena which Ptolemy recorded.

According to the Peutinger Table

Damascus to Palmyra

The *Peutinger Table* (Vienna, 1888), Segm. 10, shows a road — ignored in the *Antonine Itinerary* — from Damascus by way of Palmyra and Risapa (ar-Rešâfa) to the Euphrates.

As Palmyra lay northeast of Damascus the roads connecting these two towns must have run in a northeasterly direction and could not have deviated to any appreciable extent either to the north or south from this direction. For a distance of ninety kilometers north from Damascus there is mountainous country. The volcanic region southeast of Damascus extends almost to the very base of the mountains, thus restricting to a narrow strip the zone available for a roadway and making any deviation from a northeasterly course highly improbable. Farther northeast, east of the mountains, there lies a hilly area adjoining the nearly impassable ranges west of Palmyra and merging on the south into a wild desert; thus any divergence from a straight course would hardly be possible here either. But even in the zone between the mountains on the north and the volcanic region on the south, the possibilities of road building were very limited. About thirty kilometers northeast of Damascus the range of ar-Rawâḵ branches off from the main mountain mass and stretches north-eastward as far as Palmyra, falling off steeply to the plains on either side. Roads from Damascus to Palmyra followed both the northern and southern foothills of this range. As the ar-Rawâḵ range marks part of the southern boundary of the fertile, once cultivated country, a road along its northern base undoubtedly connected settlements located there in times long past. When Syria became a Roman province, the western portion of this road, with the stations of Thelsea and Geroda (Ġerūd), was included in the Roman system of roads; but whether or not the Romans built the stretch between Geroda and Eumari (Ḥawwârîn), we do not know.

From a military standpoint the road along the southern base of the ar-Rawâḵ range was of far greater importance. Whoever controlled this road also controlled the few passes from north to south and could protect the settlers against the raids of the nomads. And to commerce, as well, this road offered more advantages than the northern one. The caravans were spared all the steeper ascents and could trade with the nomads at the settlements along the route. Deep wells or reservoirs full of water were as plentiful here as on the northern road, and the pasture for the pack camels was likewise more abundant than in the cultivated north. We are therefore justified in believing that the Palmyrenes used this southern road. In the second half of the third century after Christ when Palmyra was incorporated with the province of Syria and Diocletian wished to build a Roman road from Damascus by way of Palmyra to Sura on the Euphrates with the object of protecting the borders, in my opinion it was not the northern, but the southern, road which he developed into the Via Strata. If he had developed the northern road, the stations of Thelsea and Geroda would have lain on his new road; but this was not the case. Along the southern foot of the ar-Rawâḵ range, moreover, there now stretches a road paved in some places, provided with Roman milestones, and traceable from Palmyra as far as the Roman camp at ʔmejr al-ʔAtiẓe. Beyond this point it merges with the old as-Sulṭāni road, leading along the southern base of the ʔalamûn range to Damascus. This Roman road forms nearly a right angle with the road from Damascus to Abila, as is accurately shown on the *Peutinger Table*, Segm. 9. This is worthy of our attention, since the directions in the *Peutinger Table* are very frequently correct.

The *Peutinger Table*, *loc. cit.*, enumerates on the road from Damascus to Palmyra eight stations, and along the Roman road under discussion there are actually the ruins of eight fortified places. The sixth Roman station from Damascus is sometimes designated in other sources as the camp of the Third Legion and the seat of a bishop, while the sixth group of ruins on the Roman road is clearly that of a fortified camp and of a town of some size, with a church where only fifty years ago oil lamps were still lighted during the principal Christian holidays. The sixth and the fourth stations both resemble, not merely in name but in location, places frequently mentioned by Arabic writers. The inscription relating to a Roman road and said to have come from al-Bhara (*Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*, Vol. 3, No. 6726) was not actually found there but on this Roman road, which did not pass by al-Bhara but was connected with that place by a branch leaving the main road at a point more than fifteen kilometers from Palmyra. On a milestone lying between the Ḥān at-Trāb and aš-Šāmāt may be read "Strata Diocletiana" and the name of the emperor Constantine, suggesting that the road was repaired in the time of that emperor (*ibid.*, No. 6719).

The exact truth will be ascertained from the milestones as soon as they are thoroughly examined. But even now we may assume that the road shown on the *Peutinger Table* is identical with the southern road leading from Damascus to Palmyra. The direction given this Roman road by Müller in his edition of Ptolemy's *Geography*, p. 984, and by Miller (*Itineraria romana* [1916], pp. 814f.) is entirely arbitrary and impossible, because they make the road lead across high mountains or along the ridge of a steep range without regard either to topography or to the position of the numerous ruins, and they put Roman forts in localities where there is no vestige of any ruins. It is a pity that all the way from Damascus to Palmyra not a single name of the Roman stations recorded on the *Peutinger Table* has been preserved to us in any other source and that even the distances shown on the *Table* do not agree with the actual distances.

According to the *Peutinger Table* the total distance is 212 miles; according to Ptolemy, 145 miles, and according to Pliny, *Naturalis historia*, V, 88, it is 176 miles. In reality the road measures 154 Roman miles, or nearly 230 kilometers, whereas in a bee line the distance is only 214 kilometers. For the discrepancy of about one hundred kilometers between the reported numbers of the *Peutinger Table* and the reality the copyists alone are to be blamed, because any considerable deviation from a direct course, would, for the reasons given above, have been impossible, and the road was surveyed exactly and marked by milestones.

From Damaspo (misspelt for Damasco) the road as shown on the *Peutinger Table* runs in 26 miles to "Ad medera." — The Roman road leads to the ruins of a Roman camp lying about four kilometers east of the settlement of Dmejr; thus the appellation "Ad medera" may have been wrongly derived from an original "Ad Demera," just as a copyist of Ptolemy, *Geography*, V, 18 (see Müller's edition, p. 1013), wrote Psathakos for Thapsakos. The camp near Dmejr is actually 26 miles, or 40 kilometers, from Damascus.

From "Ad medera" (Dmejr al-ʿAtīze) to Adarin the distance is given as ten miles. — About fifteen kilometers east-northeast of Dmejr al-ʿAtīze,

at the passage from the desert to the cultivated country, the large ruins known as the Ḥân aš-Šâmât are probably identical with the Roman station of Adarin. The distance agrees, but the name has not been preserved, the present name of the ruins having been taken from the neighboring gray and black hillocks, of a kind generally called *šâmât*.

From Adarin (Ḥân aš-Šâmât) to "Ad amana," the distance is given as 12 miles. — This station must be identical with the now dilapidated Ḥân at-Trâb (Dusty Khan), the ruin being so called because of its condition; it lies actually 17 kilometers, or almost twelve Roman miles, from the Ḥân aš-Šâmât. In the text of the *Peutinger Table* we observe between the "Ad" and the "amana" a larger space even than that in "Ad medera," suggesting that the original name was Ad Amana rather than Adamana.

The *Peutinger Table* gives twenty miles as the distance from Ad amana to Casama. — The great strong fort Ḥân al-Manḵûra, guarding the approaches to important passes, and for that reason controlling the shortest and easiest connection between the cultivated country to the north and the desert to the south, is 27 kilometers, or not quite twenty miles, from the Ḥân at-Trâb.

From Casama (Ḥân al-Manḵûra) to Cehere the *Peutinger Table* gives as twenty miles. — Cehere is probably identical with the demolished Ḥân 'Anejbe, distant, however, only 6 Roman miles, or 9 kilometers from Ḥân al-Manḵûra. It guarded the passage of the same name to the fertile lands about the present al-Žerjitejn, not far to the north.

From Cehere (Ḥân 'Anejbe) to Danoua the *Peutinger Table* gives as 18 miles. — Almost exactly 18 miles from Ḥân 'Anejbe lie the large al-Bašîri ruins, which we identify with the station of Danoua. Their location is very important, because from al-Bašîri three passages lead to the settled territory. The middle passage runs through the wide ravine of al-Bârde, which is roomy enough even for large troops of camel-riders. Watchers posted on the summit of the 'Âde mountain, which rises beside the ruins, could observe the surrounding country to a distance of one hundred kilometers to the southwest, south, and east, and with smoke signals could warn the garrison at al-Bašîri whenever an unusually numerous troop of nomads was approaching. Situated, as it was, nearly halfway between the camp of Ad Demera (Ad medera) and the city of Palmyra, the site of al-Bašîri was eminently suitable for the camp of Danaba of the *praefecti legionis tertiae Gallicae* (*Notitia dignitatum*, Oriens 32, No. 31). In this case the *b* in Danaba was substituted for the *u* of Danoua.

Beyond al-Bašîri the Roman road follows a broad valley bounded on the north by the range of ar-Rawâḵ and on the south by a steep, elongated ridge. Passage from south to north across these steep ranges is very difficult, and not until one comes to the eastern half of the valley are there any well defined passes. The latter are known as al-Wa'are and al-Ḥwênîze and were both once protected by the Ḥân al-Ḥallâbât.

From Danoua (al-Bašîri) to Nezala is twenty miles, according to the *Peutinger Table*. — *Nezala* is a term that has always been applied to a nomad camp. This station lay, perhaps, where the modern Ḥân al-Ḳaṭṭâr is located — that is, 29 kilometers, or twenty Roman miles, from al-Bašîri. It guards the al-Wa'are pass.

From Nezala to Heliaramia the *Peutinger Table* gives a distance of 44 miles. — Nevertheless, I look for Heliaramia in the fort Ḥan al-Ḥallâbât, 25 kilometers, or scarcely eighteen miles, from the Ḥan al-Ḳaṭṭâr. Beyond the Ḥan al-Ḥallâbât the valley mentioned above ends and the Roman road turns more to the north-northeast, in which direction it runs until it reaches the sandy Palmyrene plain at the al-ʿEdejjé ruins.

From Heliaramia (al-Ḥallâbât) to Palmyra the distance is given as 32 miles, although in reality it is not more than 38 kilometers, or 26 miles.

Palmyra to the Euphrates

From Palmyra a Roman road stretches along the southern base of the range of Abu Riġmên northeast to as-Suḥne, where it turns north and then leads through the broad saddle between the Abu Riġmên mountains and ridge of al-Biṣri to the plain of ar-Reṣâfa and the Euphrates. At the approach to the saddle lies the hamlet of aṭ-Ṭajjibe, called in the Middle Ages ʿOrz or ʿOrd. The latter name, however, owing to its unhappy meaning (Judgment Day), was changed into aṭ-Ṭajjibe. The classical writers called the place Oriza. It is located almost halfway along the road from Palmyra to Sura, and formerly meant as much to the cultivated eastern half of Palmyrena as Danoua (or Danaba) did to the western.

According to the *Peutinger Table*, Segm. 11, the distance from Palmyra to Sure on the Euphrates was 104 miles (155 kilometers). — In reality it is 124 miles, or 185 kilometers. Thus here also the numbers cannot have been correctly preserved.

From Palmyra to Harac the *Peutinger Table* gives as 18 miles, which agrees correctly enough with the actual distance, because Harac or Arak (or Raka), lies about seventeen miles east-northeast of Palmyra.

From Harac the *Peutinger Table* gives a distance of 22 miles to Oruba (misspelt for Oruza, Oriza, or Oruda). — Oruza or Oriza is identical with the early Arabic ʿOrd, the Bedouin ʿOrz, the modern aṭ-Ṭajjibe; but this is not 22 but 45 Roman miles from Arak.

From Oruba (Oruza) the *Peutinger Table* gives 22 miles to Cholle. The name of this station persists in that of the ruins of the settlement and Roman camp at al-Ḥulle, thirty miles from aṭ-Ṭajjibe.

From Cholle (al-Ḥulle) the *Peutinger Table* assigns 20 miles to Risapa. — This is the now ruined town of ar-Reṣâfa, actually only 12, not 20, Roman miles from al-Ḥulle.

From Risapa the *Peutinger Table* assigns 21 miles to Sure, the Sûrija ruins of to-day. — Here, too, the distance given by the *Table* does not agree with the reality. From ar-Reṣâfa to Sûrija is not 21 but only 18 Roman miles.

Sure to Eraciza

After Sure the *Peutinger Table* records two more distances, one of 2 and the other of 8 miles, but it does not give the names of the stations. As, however, the *Table* does not record a single station south of Zeugma on the left bank of the Euphrates and mentions neither the important commercial center of Callinicus (Nicephorium) nor the border fortress of Circesium, it is not likely that these figures refer to the distances to

these two towns on the left bank of the Euphrates. It is also improbable that they refer to stations on the right bank east of Sure, for in this case both stations would have to be located in Palmyrena. Indeed, not a single classical source mentions two Roman stations east of Sure, Sure itself being designated as a frontier post. It would be hard to understand, however, why the Romans should not have connected Sure with other stations to the northwest on the right bank of the Euphrates, for all stations named in the *Peutinger Table* between Zeugma and Eraciza lie on the right bank. Under the name Eraciza we read in the *Table* "xvi Barbalisso, xii Attas" (16 miles to Barbalissus, 12 miles to Attas), but the road is not here marked with a line, as elsewhere. Yet, because both of these stations were likewise located on the right bank of the Euphrates, the maker of the *Table* obviously must have intended to mark a continuation of the Roman road out of Eraciza. This road could not have ended at Attas, but must have reached the frontier station of Sure. Between Attas and Sure the anonymous Ravenna geographer (*Cosmographia*, II, 15; Pinder and Parthey's edit., p. 88) records the station of Sephe. Are we not, then, justified in assuming that Sure was connected by a road with Eraciza and that the names omitted on the *Peutinger Table* in connection with the recorded distances beyond Sure should read Sephe and Attas? Such a road would connect the frontier station of Sure with Zeugma, lying to the north-northwest.

The distance between Sure and Barbalissus according to this interpretation of the *Peutinger Table* would be 22 miles, as we shall explain immediately. In reality the distance was 42 miles, or 63 kilometers.

From Sure the *Table* gives a distance of two miles to the unnamed station which we hold to have been Sephe, a name now preserved in that of the *še'ib* of aṣ-Ṣafja, which ends at Abu Hrêra. The Arabic writers identify the modern station of Abu Hrêra with the ancient Şiffîn, and, since Abu Hrêra marks the site of Sephe, the latter may be identified with Şiffin. But the distance between Sure (Sûrija) and Banât abu Hrêra (Sephe) is 38 kilometers — not 2 but 26 Roman miles.

From the unnamed station which we hold to have been Sephe the *Peutinger Table* records a distance of 8 miles to the next station, by which we believe Attas was meant. This station may be sought in the pre-Islamic ruins of ad-Dibsi; these, however, are 16 kilometers, or 10 Roman miles, from Banât abu Hrêra.

From Attas (ad-Dibsi) the *Peutinger Table* gives a distance of 12 miles to Barbalissus, now the ruins of Bâlis at 13 kilometers, or 8 Roman miles from ad-Dibsi. According to Arabic sources Bâlis marked the north-eastern boundary of Arabia.

From Barbalissus the *Peutinger Table* gives 16 miles to Eracizâ, the Abu Ḥanâja of today; the distance from Bâlis to Abu Ḥanâja is in reality 30 kilometers, or 20 Roman miles.

Apamea to Palmyra

The *Peutinger Table*, Segm. 10, also shows a road from Apamea to Palmyra. In the territory which is covered by our map of Northern Arabia this road passes the station of Theleda, or the modern Tell 'Ada' (or Tell 'Eda'), 32 kilometers east-southeast of Ḥama'.

From Theleda the *Peutinger Table* indicates that it is 28 miles by this road to Occaraba. — The latter is identical with the now repopled settlement of 'Uẓêribât ('Uḳêriba'), lying 46 kilometers, or almost 31 Roman miles, southeast of Tell 'Ada'.

From Occaraba ('Uẓêribât) the *Table* indicates a distance of 27 miles to Centum Putea. — The Latin name Centum Putea would appropriately designate the basin of Ġhâr, where water may be found in any place, as the hundreds of live and caved-in wells witness. On this account we may look for the station of Centum Putea at the small ruins at the Bijâr Ġhâr 38 kilometers, or about 26 Roman miles, from 'Uẓêribât.

The distance from Centum Putea (Bijâr Ġhâr) to Palmyra is not given. It amounts actually to about 44 kilometers, or 30 Roman miles.

At two altars, 20 kilometers, or nearly 14 Roman miles, west-southwest of Palmyra, there branched off from the road which ran southwesterly (perhaps to Eumari [Ḥawwârîn]) another road leading to Occaraba. From the latter road was taken the inscription shown in *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*, Vol. 3, No. 14177⁶ and probably also No. 6727 as well. According to these inscriptions the road was repaired by Zenobia and her successor Antiochus.

On the road to Occaraba at about two kilometers from the two altars there stands a milestone with the inscription reproduced in *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*, Vol. 3, No. 14177⁴, which reads "From Palmyra Beriarac will be reached in 16 miles."

The following inscription, No. 14177⁵, dates from the time of Caracalla (212 A. D.). This also has in its sixth line the word Beriarac (as I ascertained in 1912). Near Beriarac the road turned northwest. The inscriptions numbered 6723–6725 are all from this road. Because the oldest ones date from 198 A. D., in the reign of Septimius Severus, it seems that this emperor must have had the road repaired, if not built in the first place. Beriarac is identical with Bijâr Ġhâr and Centum Putea.

Adarin to Emesa (Ḥomṣ)

According to the *Peutinger Table*, Segm. 10, from the Roman road leading from Damascus to Palmyra another road running by way of Laodicia Scabiosa to Hemesa (Emesa, now Ḥomṣ) branched off at the station of Adarin. Adarin, as we have already explained (above, p. 241), is probably identical with the modern Ḥân aš-Šâmât, where the remains of a Roman fort still stand. Ḥân aš-Šâmât is located at the point where the volcanic territory of Tlûl al-'Ijât approaches most closely the range of ar-Rawâḳ, lying to the north. It thus commands the gate from the desert westward into the fertile country around Damascus. This advantage explains why the Romans built their fort here. Neither to the north nor south from the Ḥân aš-Šâmât is there a road passable for big caravans. To the south spreads the volcanic territory; on the north the steep slopes of ar-Rawâḳ overlook the ruined fort and, although they do not entirely bar all communication northward, they prove a serious obstacle to it. No leader of a pack caravan would undertake to lead his animals up the steep grades nor would he venture over the almost impassable lava territory, if there were an easier route around either obstacle. Such easier route may be found about seventeen kilometers northeast of the Ḥân aš-Šâmât.

Here in the ar-Rawāk range there gapes a deep notch, and the volcanic territory gives way to a desert covered with coarse gravel. At the entrance to the notch, which is called Šaḳḳ (or Mešaḳḳ) Semri, lies the ruin mound known as the Ḥân at-Trâb, in which may be recognized the Roman fort of Ad amana (see above, p. 241). From the Ḥân at-Trâb an important transport route leads southwards along the eastern fringe of the volcanic territory to the volcano of al-Ḥadâla, the border fortress of Burḳu', the rain hole Raḍîr al-Wusâd, and to the depression of Sirḥân (the classical Syrmaion Pédion), where it forks. Thence one branch runs through the oasis of Tejma to al-Medina and southwestern Arabia, and the other traverses the oasis of Dûmat of al-Ġandal, connecting thence with Irak and with al-Ḥasa', the former territory of the Gerrhaei on the Persian Gulf. Before reaching the fork this transport route in Roman times formed the connecting link between the several forts which had been constructed along the eastern foot of the Ḥawrân and, together with the forts on the Roman road from Damascus to Palmyra, served to protect the *limes interior*. The classical reports on the roads in Syria and Arabia do not mention this road at all. As has been pointed out above (p. 244), however, the *Peutinger Table* indicates a branch leading off northward at Adarin from the Roman road connecting Damascus and Palmyra. It seems obvious that this branch could have been nothing but the northern continuation of the transport route running from the depression of Sirḥân to the north. But, since the latter leaves the plain at the Ḥân at-Trâb, it may be assumed that the Roman road did not branch off at Adarin but at the next station, Ad amana (now Ḥân at-Trâb). On the *Peutinger Table* the red branch line was merely placed incorrectly, a mistake of a sort that is repeated in several other places on this map.

The fertile districts between the Lebanon and Antilebanon before the Roman occupation had no direct connection with the trade routes running east and southeast to such important commercial centers as Palmyra, Tejma, and Petra. For this reason the Romans built a connecting road from the station of Ad amana northwest across the Antilebanon. This road, leading through a mountainous country, had to be adapted to the topography; therefore we may be guided in locating it by studying the routes now traversed by large caravans. Such is the present route from the Ḥân at-Trâb by way of Jabrûd to al-Kâ' and thence to Ḥomṣ.

This route first traverses the notch of Šaḳḳ Semri, which separates the higher western from the lower eastern part of the range of az-Zbejdi and affords an easy passage to the Tenijjet al-Jabârde and to the wells of Abu Ḥjâja, not far to the east of which lie the wells of az-Zbejdi and al-Fâ'i. Beyond Abu Ḥjâja the route reaches the al-Maġrûne ruin, and beyond this it crosses the pass of al-Ḥaġûle through the mountain ridge Še'eb al-Lôz. From here it runs northwest to the settlement of Jabrûd, whence it follows the valley of az-Zammarâne as far as its head, descending at the hamlet of Ersâl to the valley of the same name. Winding through this valley, and thence over the plain between the Lebanon and Antilebanon, it reaches the settlement of al-Kâ', and, ultimately, Ḥomṣ. This road is used for the most part by the nomads and by camels laden with heavy freight, and consequently it is fairly wide and well traveled.

By this road the distance from Hân at-Trâb to Homs is 150 kilometers. According to the *Peutinger Table*, Segm. 10, however, the distance from Adarin (or, more correctly, from the station Ad amana) to Hemesa (Homs) by way of Laodicia Scabiosa is only 60 Roman miles (90 km.), which clearly shows that all the stations cannot have been recorded.

From Adarin (correctly, Ad amana) the *Table* indicates a distance of 15 miles to Ocurura. — From the Hân at-Trâb to the al-Mağrûne ruins at the foot of the range Še'eb al-Lôz, the distance is 22 kilometers or 15 Roman miles, which leads me to identify these ruins with Ocurura.

From Ocurura to Deleda the *Peutinger Table* indicates a distance of 15 miles. After going 15 Roman miles from al-Mağrûne through the pass of al-Ḥağûle we reach the settlement of Jabrûd, which I believe we are justified in regarding as the station of Deleda. Since in the sixth century the towns of Laodicia Scabiosa and Jabrûd both belonged to the metropolitanate of Damascus, it follows that from Laodicia a road must have led by way of Jabrûd (Deleda) to Damascus.

Homs lies almost due north of the al-Ḥağûle pass, with which it has long been connected by a much more direct transport road than that just described, which swings around to the west. It may be presumed, however, that the Roman road followed the more devious but easier course. Between al-Kâra and al-Ḥasja the direct road crosses countless mountain ravines and gullies and is damaged after each heavy rain or rapid melting of snow by the torrents rushing down from the heights; repairs are costly, and the burdened animals have to climb up and down continually, suffering much themselves and causing endless trouble to their attendants.

PALMYRENA ACCORDING TO THE RAVENNA GEOGRAPHER

The *Cosmography* of the anonymous Ravenna geographer probably dates from the seventh century after Christ. Here we read (*Cosmographia*, II, 5; Pinder and Parthey's edition, p. 51) that adjoining the country of the Parthians is the country of the Persians, in which there were many towns; among these are mentioned (*ibid.*, p. 54): Suretala, Dertha, Diothaze, Sepe, Ati, Barpsis, and Barbalissum.

Suretala might have originated from a combination of Sure(t) with either the Alalis or the Alamatha of Ptolemy.

Diothaze (*var.*, Diothece, or Diothâre) and Dertha are identical with the Diotha and Derta of the *Peutinger Table*, the latter perhaps being the Gadeirtha or Gadeirda of Ptolemy, *Geography*, V, 19: 3.

Sepe is the well-known Sephe (Ravenna geogr., *op. cit.*, II, 15; *ed. cit.*, p. 88).

Ati (written Anthis, *ibid.*) is the Attas of the *Peutinger Table* and the Athis of Ptolemy, *op. cit.*, V, 15: 17.

Barpsis is perhaps mistakenly rendered from Barsampse (Ptolemy, *op. cit.*, V, 19: 5), although this place was located on the left bank of the Euphrates.

Barbalissum (or Barbalission, Ravenna geogr., *op. cit.*, II, 15; *ed. cit.*, p. 88) is the Barbalisso of the *Peutinger Table* and the Barbalissus of Ptolemy, *loc. cit.*

The Ravenna geographer also writes (*op. cit.*, II, 15; *ed. cit.*, p. 85) that in Syria Cilensin Comagenis, there are certain settlements. Of these the most interesting to us are the following: Barbalission, Anthis, Sephe, Adiazane, Suri, Risapha, Cholle, Orissa, Adatis, and Damascus (*ibid.*, pp. 88—89).

Adiazane is evidently another misrendering of Diothaze, Diotahi, or Diacira, for no classical authority mentions an Adiazane on the road which runs from Barbalissus to Sure and thence extends to Palmyra.

Risapha (the Risapa of the *Peutinger Table* and the Resapha of Ptolemy, *op. cit.*, V, 14: 19) is now the ruins of ar-Reşâfa.

Cholle is written as in Ptolemy, *loc. cit.*

Orissa on the *Peutinger Table* is called Oruba; by Ptolemy Oriza.

Adatis is the Adada of Ptolemy.

The two accounts of the Ravenna geographer show that he follows the order of names neither as indicated on the *Peutinger Table* nor as recorded by Ptolemy, but that he groups the names as he pleases. He takes names from the *Antonine Itinerary* without putting them in their proper places; for instance (*ibid.*, p. 84) he gives Salomiada (the Salamiada of the *Antonine Itinerary*, 197: 6; the modern Salamja) but in a place where it does not belong. For this reason the Ravenna geographer's enumeration cannot be depended upon.

THE ROMAN LIMES

The Roman road from Damascus by way of Palmyra to the Euphrates connected the Roman forts located on the *limes interior*. To the south of the *limes* spread the territory of the nomads allied with the Romans, the outer boundaries of which formed the *limes exterior* (see Musil, *The Northern Heğâz* [1926], pp. 258—259).

The *Chronicon paschale* (Migne), col. 669, relates that the emperor Decius had a number of lions and lionesses caught in Africa, which he let loose on the *limes* of Palestine and Arabia as far as the border fort of Circesium, hoping thus to frighten the barbarous Saracens.

Diocletian had fortified camps built along the whole *limes* from Egypt to the Persian frontier; he garrisoned them with soldiers and appointed in each province a commander, whose duty it was to live in these camps and guard them. In honor of both Diocletian and Maximian, *stelae* with their names were erected along the Syrian *limes* (John Malalas, *Chronographia*, XII, 409).

Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum gestarum*, XXIII, 5: 2, in narrating Julian's campaign against the Persians (363 A.D.), writes that the fort of Cercusium (Circesium) was built on the *limes interior* against the barbarians. — The *limes exterior* must then have lain farther to the southeast beyond the Roman camp of Zaitha. It was not until the ruined town of Dura was passed that Julian's army crossed the Assyrian (Persian) border (*ibid.*, XXIV, 1: 1).

The chronicler Domninus (Malalas, *op. cit.*, XII, 390—393) states that in the time of the emperor Valerian the Persian king Sapor marched with a great army through the Roman *limes* to Chalcis, pillaging and burning, and finally reached Antioch. Returning from there he was attacked by an ally of the Romans, Enath (Odenath), king of the barbarous Saracens, the ruler of Arabia and husband of Zenobia. —

Sapor II (309—379) turned from the vicinity of al-Medīna into the territory of the Bekr and Taṛleb tribes, which lay between the Persian frontier and Roman *limes* (*al-manāẓer*) in Syria, and slew or captured the Arabs he met, filling their wells (aṭ-Ṭabari, *Ta'riḥ* [De Goeje], Ser. 1, p. 839).

At the beginning of the fifth century the abbot Alexander the Acoemete traveled from the Euphrates to Egypt and throughout the whole journey found Roman tribunes and soldiers, who supplied him and his companions with all the necessities and begged them to accept the hospitality of their forts. Along the whole *limes* between the Roman and Persian empires forts were built against the barbarians at intervals of ten to twenty Roman miles. The abbot went along the whole *limes* and finally came to the town of Solomon (Palmyra), whence after four days he reached a place where his own brother was the archimandrite of a big monastery. (Alexander the Acoemete, *Vita* [De Stoop], pp. 683 f.; *ibid.* [Bolland], p. 1025.)

The city of Palmyra in the reign of Justinian lay on the *limes interior* (Theophanes, *Chronographia* [Migne], col. 404).

After 591 Gregorius, bishop of Antioch, brought rich presents from Chosroes II to the town of Sergiopolis; the shrine of Saint Sergius. Then the bishop went through the desert along the *limes*, where Severus had many adherents in the forts, settlements, and monasteries, even whole tribes having declared themselves for him; these tribes he endeavored to convert to the Church of God. (Evagrius, *Ecclesiastica historia*, VI, 22.)

Abu-l-Faḍā'il states that the high tower of al-Ḳājem was the last Persian fortress guarding the borders against the Romans (as one goes up the Euphrates) (Abu-l-Farağ, *Aṛāni* [Bûlâk, 1285 A. H.], Vol. 5, pp. 123 f.; al-Bekri, *Muğam* [Wüstenfeld], p. 359; Abu-l-Faḍā'il, *Marāsid* [Juynboll], Vol. 1, p. 437). Al-Furda, or al-Firâd, aṣ-Şâlḥijje of today, was the first Roman settlement (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 1, pp. 2074 f.).

In the inner desert the boundary between the territory of the Kalb and Taṛleb tribes, on the one hand, and that of the nomads allied with the Romans and the Persians, on the other, was marked by Mount Ilâha (al-Bekri, *op. cit.*, pp. 97 f.), the modern Lâha.

The territory between the *limes interior* and the *limes exterior* belonged to the nomads allied with the Romans. There they took refuge when quarreling with the Romans, and from there they started out on their marauding expeditions across the *limes interior* (John of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, III, 42; Theophanes, *op. cit.*, cols. 412 f.; John Malalas, *Chronographia*, XVIII, 165 f.; Menander Protector, *De legationibus* [Migne], col. 805).

APPENDIX III

ROADS IN PALMYRENA ACCORDING TO THE ARABIC AUTHORITIES

In the Middle Ages the principal route from Damascus to Palmyra led by way of Ġerūd and al-Ḳarjatān (al-Žerjitejn). The Roman road along the southern foot of the ar-Rawāk range fell into disuse. Palmyra was connected with ar-Raḳḳa by the old Roman road by way of ar-Reṣāfa, or Sergiopolis. As late as the earliest years of the Middle Ages ar-Reṣāfa had a considerable commercial importance, being the junction of several transport roads. From there a road led through the desert to al-Furḍa (later called aṣ-Ṣâlḥijje) and to Bagdad, another to the rising twin towns of ar-Râfiḳa and ar-Raḳḳa, another to Ḥomṣ by way of Salamja, and still another to Damascus by way of al-Ḳarjatān.

Ibn Ḥordâdbeh, *Masâlik* (De Goeje), p. 98, gives the distance from ar-Raḳḳa to ar-Ruṣâfa as 24 miles, thence to az-Zarrâ'a as 40 miles, thence to al-Ḳaṣṭal as 36 miles, thence to Salamijja as 30 miles, and thence to Ḥomṣ as 24 miles. —

From ar-Raḳḳa to ar-Reṣâfa is actually 40 kilometers; since Ibn Ḥordâdbeh gives this distance as 24 miles, one of his miles should equal about 1.7 kilometers. The road from ar-Raḳḳa to ar-Reṣâfa being level, the direction straight, and the distance presumably having been fixed with precision, we are probably justified in our belief that in all the other distances given by Ibn Ḥordâdbeh the mile is also equal to 1.7 kilometers. Besides, this is the length of the mile usually cited by Ibn Ḥordâdbeh (see Musil, *The Middle Euphrates* [1927], p. 248).

The location of az-Zarrâ'a is unknown. The place name az-Zarrâ'a is written by Ḳodâma (*Ḥarâġ* [De Goeje], p. 218) and by al-Muḳaddasi (*Aḥsan* [De Goeje], p. 190) as ad-Derâ'a; by al-Idrîsi (*Nuzha*, IV, 5) as al-Morâra. What the true name really was is hard to say. This place should probably be sought in the neighborhood of the wells of Abu-l-Fejjâz, past which an old road leads from the southwest to the northeast.

The name al-Ḳaṣṭal has persisted in the extensive ruins between 'Užêribât and Esrija. The distance from ar-Reṣâfa to al-Ḳaṣṭal is given as 76 miles; in reality it is 140 kilometers, which agrees on the whole.

From al-Ḳaṣṭal to Salamijja Ibn Ḥordâdbeh gives the distance as 30 miles; in reality it is 50 kilometers. The relative positions of al-Ḳaṣṭal and Salamja were ascertained correctly enough by us; hence I am at a loss to understand why the road left its direct course and turned as far south as al-Ḳaṣṭal.

From Salamja to Ḥomṣ the distance is given as 24 miles, whereas it is actually 45 kilometers, the equivalent of 26 miles.

Ḳodâma, *op. cit.*, p. 218, knew of two roads from ar-Reṣâfa to Damascus: one leading through the desert, the other running by way of Ḥomṣ through a settled and cultivated territory. The latter led from ar-Ruṣâfa to ad-Derâ'a, a distance of 40 miles; thence to Ḳaṣṭal (spelled by Ḳodâma without the article), 36 miles; thence to Salamja, 30 miles;

thence to Ḥomṣ, 24 miles; thence to Šamsîn aš-Ša'ar, 18 miles; thence to Kâra, 22 miles; thence to an-Nabk, 12 miles; thence to al-Ḳuṭejfe, 20 miles; and thence to Damascus, 24 miles. The desert road from ar-Rešâfa to Damascus led first to the ruins of Baṭlamija', 35 miles; thence to al-'Adîb, 24 miles; thence to Nihja', 20 miles; thence to al-Ḳarjatân, 20 miles; thence to Ġerûd, 36 miles; and thence to Damascus, 30 miles. —

The section of the road through the cultivated territory from ar-Rešâfa to Ḥomṣ corresponds with the road described by Ibn Ḥordâdbeh (see above, p. 249), the section from Ḥomṣ to Damascus is too well known to require particular treatment here. The name Šamsîn aš-Ša'ar ought to be written Šamsîn al-Maš'ar, since the station of Šamsîn was built near the village of al-Maš'ar (see Ibn Ġubejr, *Rihla* [De Goeje], p. 260).

Since the desert road went by way of al-Ḳarjatân, we may take for granted that it did not deviate from a direct course, as there was no necessity for its avoiding high mountains or deep ravines. The distance from ar-Rešâfa to al-Ḳarjatân (al-Žerjitejn) is 220 kilometers; according to Ḳodâma it was 99 miles, or only 168 kilometers. This shows that the latter's figures are not always trustworthy.

Nihja' is probably identical with the at-Tjâs ruin, so designated from the neighboring range of hillocks. It lies at 60 kilometers, and therefore at 33, not 20, miles, northeast of al-Žerjitejn. If we keep this straight course, at 35 miles from ar-Rešâfa we come to some small ruins north-east of the wells of al-Ḳdejm, which we might regard as the ruins of Baṭlamija'. The station of al-'Adîb is perhaps identical with the present well of al-Wešel. Northwest from here and north of at-Tjâs (Nihja') there runs the *še'ib* of al-'Azîb, which might easily have been rendered "al-'Adîb"; this, however, is not likely, as it would have meant that the desert road approached much closer to the road through the cultivated country than it would be natural to expect.

From al-Ḳarjatân to Ġerûd Ḳodâma gives the distance as 36 miles, though in reality it is 53 kilometers, or only 30 miles.

From Ġerûd to Damascus he gives it as 30 miles, or 51 kilometers, which agrees.

The statement that this road led through the desert would seem to apply only to the small stretch between al-'Adîb and al-Ḳarjatân, for the Abu Riġmên range and its northern spurs, through which it passed, were surely inhabited, and there must have been settlers in the tract between ar-Rešâfa and al-Ḳaṣṭal, because the settlement of az-Zarrâ'a referred to as the station of ad-Derâ'a in the description of the first road was located not far from Baṭlamija'.

Ḳodâma, *loc. cit.*, also records a road called the "Middle Road" from Salamja to Damascus. The distance from Salamja to Far'âja' (?) is given as 18 miles; thence to Ma' Šurejk (?) as 20 miles; thence to Šadad as 18 miles; thence to an-Nabk as 35 miles. The spelling of the names of the two stations between Salamja and Šadad is not preserved correctly, and I cannot identify them. Between Salamja and Šadad it is actually about ninety kilometers, or fifty miles in all.

The Roman road from ar-Rešâfa via 'Ord to Damascus (see above, pp. 238—242) was still in use in the Middle Ages. Sejfaddowle (al-Mutanabbi, *Diwân* [De Sacy], p. 19), having driven back the Bedouins in June 955, stayed on a Tuesday and Wednesday in Tadmur, slept on Thursday

in the settlement of Arak, on Friday in as-Suĥne, on Saturday in 'Ord, on Sunday in ar-Reṣâfa, and reached ar-Raḳḳa as early as Monday. His daily marches were not of equal length. On Thursday he covered 25 kilometers, on Friday 40, on Saturday about 30, on Sunday 60, and on Monday 42. Remarkably long is his march from the settlement of 'Ord (aṭ-Tajjibe) to ar-Reṣâfa, a proof that in the middle of the tenth century there was no place of any special importance between those two settlements.

Al-Muḳaddasi, *Aḥsan* (De Goeje), p. 190, also knew of a road from ar-Raḳḳa by way of ar-Reṣâfa to Ḥomṣ, on which he records the stations as follows: from ar-Raḳḳa to ar-Ruṣâfa, half a march; thence to ad-Derâ'a, two marches; thence to al-Ḳaṣṭal, two marches; thence to Salamijja, two marches; thence to Ḥomṣ, one march. —

These statements can hardly be correct, since al-Muḳaddasi makes the 42 kilometers from ar-Raḳḳa to ar-Reṣâfa constitute only a half day's march, whereas he asserts that the 58 kilometers from al-Ḳaṣṭal to Salamja constitute two marches.

Al-Idrisi, *Nuzha*, IV, 5, gives the same stations as Ibn Ḥordâdbeh but quotes the distance from ar-Reṣâfa to al-Morâra as 24 instead of 40 miles.

Abu Šâma, *Rawḍatejn* (De Meynard, 1898), pp. 159 f., relates that in the second half of the year 1173 Nûraddin travelled from Aleppo with his sick favorite by the "easy road" by way of Ḳubbet Malâ'eb, al-Mašhad, and Salamja to Damascus.

Ibn Ġubejr, *Rihla* (De Goeje), p. 260, took the road from Ḥomṣ by way of an-Nebk to the pass of al-'Okâb, whence he enjoyed the view over the plains and gardens of Damascus. At this pass the road from Damascus divides, one branch going north to Ḥomṣ, the other going east through the desert of as-Samâwa to Irak. The second road forms, as stated by Ibn Ġubejr, a direct connection with Irak but is passable only in the rainy season. From the pass Ibn Ġubejr descended through some valley to the plain and encamped at the settlement of al-Ḳuṣejr in a large khan by a creek. — The remains of the fortified khan of al-Ḳuṣejr lie at the creek of ar-Rihân about five kilometers east of Dûma. The pass of al-'Okâb now bears the name Ab-al-'Afa'. Both to the north and south of this pass a branch leads out of the Damascus-Ḥomṣ road to the right. The northern branch goes by way of Tudmor to Dejr az-Zôr or al-Mijâdin (ar-Raḥba); the southern (Darb as-Sâ'i) runs through the desert direct to Hit and Irak. Large caravans can take the latter road only after heavy rains. (See Musil, *Arabia Deserta* [1927], p. 76.)

Ibn al-Aṭîr, *Kâmil* (Tornberg), Vol. 11, pp. 335 f., relates that in the summer of 1184 Bešîr al-Ĥâdem, the companion of the great sheikh Šadraddîn of Irak, died in as-Suĥne when returning with Šadraddîn from Damascus. Šadraddîn died in November of the same year in ar-Raḥba. — Thus it appears that they must have taken the northern branch mentioned above.

Ḥalîl aḍ-Dâheri, *Zubda* (Ravaisse), pp. 119 f., records the road from Ḥomṣ to ar-Raḥba. The stations out from Ḥomṣ were al-Mašna', al-Ḳarnaĵn (correctly, al-Ḳarjatajn), al-Bêḍa, Tadmur, Karbad, as-Suĥne, Ḳabḳab, Kawâmel, and ar-Raḥba. — The name of the first station is a very common word, meaning a reservoir or large cistern, and the station ought to be looked for in the vicinity of the hamlet of aš-Ša'êrât. Al-Ḳarjatajn (al-Žerjitejn) is well known. Al-Bêḍa lies at 73 kilometers north-

east of al-Žerjitejn. Karbad is a misspelling either of Arak or of Sardak, the name given to a tiny settlement and vigorous spring 35 kilometers northeast of Tudmor. From there a road led northeast across the oasis of as-Suĥne to the station of ẔabẔab, today ẔebâẔeb, after which it turned east to the fort of ar-Rĥaba. Kawâmel is an incorrect way of writing Kawâtel. This important road did not follow a straight line, but here and there touched at settlements and at all the live springs and wells along the route.

Describing the pigeon mail stations, Ḥalîl ad-Dâheri, *op. cit.*, p. 117, records that the pigeons flew from Aleppo to Tadmur (a distance of about two hundred kilometers) and from there by way of ẔabẔab to ar-Rahba.

Ḥaġġi Ḥalfa, *Ġihân numa'* (Constantinople, 1145 A. H.), p. 483, writes that from the settlement of Bâlis on the Euphrates along the border of the desert to Salamja the distance is six days, and thence three days to Tadmur. — From Bâlis to Salamja it is 150 kilometers and from there to Tudmor about 120 kilometers; and yet Ḥaġġi Ḥalfa makes the first trip last six days and the second only three; this proves either that he copied wrongly or that in giving the distance from Bâlis to Salamja he was thinking of pack caravans, whereas the distance from Salamja to Tudmor applied to camel riders.

APPENDIX IV

ROMAN MILITARY STATIONS IN PALMYRENA

The *Notitia dignitatum*, Oriens 32, enumerates the garrisons subject to the *dux Foenicis*, as follows:

Equites Saraceni, Thelsee. — Thelsee is the Thelsea of the *Antonine Itinerary*, 196: 2, on the road from Geroda (Ġerûd) to Damascus, and is identical with the Ḥân al-ʿAjjâš of to-day. Much of the old building material from here has been carried away to al-Kṣejr, but from what remained the khan and the neighboring shrines were built.

Equites Mauri Illyriciani, Otthara. — Seeck in his edition of *Notitia dignitatum* (1876), p. 67, note 1, compares Otthara with the Ocurura of the *Peutinger Table*, Segm. 10. In this I agree with him and identify Otthara with the Ḥirbet al-Maġrûne, 12 kilometers northeast of the settlement of Ġerûd. The garrison of Otthara guarded the entrance to the fertile country about Ġerûd and the pass of al-Ḥaġûle.

Equites scutarii Illyriciani, Euhari. — Euhari (*var.*, Euhara or Eubara) is identical with the Eumari (*var.*, Eomari and Elimari) of the *Antonine Itinerary*, 195: 9, the Euareia or Euaria of Harduin, *Conciliorum collectio* (Paris, 1715), Vol. 2, cols. 473, 720, the Ḥawârîn of the Syrians, and the modern Hawwârîn. The remains of a mighty Roman fortress as well as of other buildings testify to the importance of this place in relation to the fertile country which it had to guard.

Ala prima Damascena, Monte Iovis. — I look for the fort on Jupiter's mountain at the fort of Abu Šindâh, which stands on a high hill.

Ala noua Diocletiana, Ueriaraca. — The first part of the word Ueriaraca is a corruption of *bêr* or *bîr*, a well. The proper noun Araca reminds us forcibly of the settlement of Arak or Raka, although further on in the *Notitia dignitatum* the latter seems to be called Adatha. It is possible, however, that *ber*-Araca was the native designation of the station Centum Putea (Hundred Wells), which may be identified with the ruins and wells of Bijâr Ġhâr. The Aramaic Beriaraca has the same meaning as the Arabic Bijâr Ġhâr (see above, pp. 233, 244).

Praefectus legionis primae Illyricorum, Palmira.

Equites sagittarii indigenae, Adatha. — The *Peutinger Table*, Segm. 10, shows Harac, the present settlement of Arak or Araka (also called ar-Raka) 25 kilometers northeast of Palmyra.

Equites promoti indigenae, Nazala. — For Nazala I look to the Roman station of Nezala of the *Peutinger Table*, Segm. 10, the Ĥân al-Kattâr of today, on the Roman road from Damascus to Palmyra. But it is also possible that a former settlement, the ruins of which lie two kilometers south of al-Žerjitejn, was called Nezala.

Praefectus legionis tertiae Gallicae, Danaba. — Danaba is spelled thus in Ptolemy, *Geography*, V, 14; 19; it is the Danava of the *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*, Vol. 3, No. 755; the Danoua of the *Peutinger Table*, Segm. 10; the Castrum Danabenum of Harduin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, col. 720; the Danaba of the same, Vol. 3, col. 206; the Danaba of the Arabic authors, and the modern al-Bašîri, on the Roman road from Damascus to Palmyra.

Equites sagittarii indigenae, Casama. — Casama is identical with the Casama of the *Peutinger Table*, Segm. 10, with the Kuşam of the Arabic authorities, and with the modern Ĥân al-Manķûra, a demolished Roman fort 32 kilometers south of al-Žerjitejn on the Roman road from Palmyra to Damascus.

Equites Saraceni indigenae, Betproclis. — Betproclis was correctly identified by Grimme, *Palmyra* (1886), pp. 21 f., note 8, with the present village of al-Forkłos, which lies about forty kilometers southeast of Ĥomş. We were told by the inhabitants of al-Forkłos, that the stonework of the ruined fort there had been used in building barracks and a few small houses.

The *Notitia dignitatum*, Oriens 33, enumerates the garrisons under the command of the *dux Syriae et Eufkratensis Syriae*, as follows:

Equites promoti Illyriciani, Occariba. — Occariba — the Acoraba of Ptolemy, *op. cit.*, V, 14: 13; spelled Occaraba on the *Peutinger Table*, Segm. 9; the Orarabon of the Ravenna Geographer, *Cosmographia*, II, 15 (Pinder and Parthey, p. 87); and the ‘Uķejribât of the Arabic authorities — is identical with the modern settlement of ‘Użêribât, which lies at the southwestern foot of the Bil’âs hillocks on the road from Palmyra to the northwest.

Equites scutarii Illyriciani, Seriane. — Seriane (*var.*, Syriane), the Seriane of the *Antonine Itinerary*, 194: 7; 195: 3; 197: 5, is represented by the extensive ruins, now called Esrija or Serija, at the foot of the range of Abu Riġmên on the road from Palmyra to the north.

Ala prima noua Herculia, Ammuda. — For Ammuda (*var.*, Amuda) I look to the great settlement of Umm ‘Amûd, which lies north-northwest of Esrija and 58 kilometers west-southwest of Bâlis on the important transport road from Aleppo to Palmyra.

Equites Dalmatae Illyriciani, Barbalisso. — Barbalisso is the modern Bâlis.

Praefectus legionis sexaedeceimae Flaviae Firmae, Sura. — Sura is the modern Sûrija.

Equites promoti indigenae, Rosafa. — Rosafa is ar-Reşâfa of today.

Cohors prima Gotthorum, Helela. — Helela is probably identical with the Alalis of Ptolemy, *op. cit.*, V, 14: 19. Seeck, *op. cit.*, p. 70, note 8, identifies it with the bishopric of Alalius mentioned by Harduin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, col. 314, and written "Alalorum" in Le Quien, *Oriens christianus* (Paris, 1740), Vol. 2, cols. 847 f. Alalius is the same as the Alassus mentioned by Gelzer, *Patrum nicaenorum nomina* (1898), p. 14, in referring to bishop Thadoneus of Alassus, whose diocese belonged to the province of Syria Phoenice. The latter province, however, never extended as far as the Euphrates, where Ptolemy places his Alalis. Moreover, the "Abraamius episcopus Alalorum" referred to by Le Quien was of the province of Damascus, which was a part of the political province of Phoenicia Secunda and not of Augusta Euphratensis, where Ptolemy's Alalis must be looked for. Furthermore, Harduin (*op. cit.*, Vol. 2, col. 485) does not write "Abraamius episcopus Alalorum," but "Abraamios poleos Archæon" and (*ibid.*, col. 720) "Abraamius episcopus Uranensis," referring to the settlement of Aracha — the modern Arak, northeast of Palmyra — and not to Alalis. If, then, the fort of Helela is to be considered as Alalis, it should be sought southeast of Sura, not northwest, as the order of Ptolemy's place names would seem to indicate, because northwest of Sura there is no ruined Roman fort on the Euphrates. Ptolemy's order of names, however, is not always right. When in Diocletian's time the lower channel of the river al-Ĥâbûr formed the Roman boundary and the fortress of Circesium was built to insure its safety, it was also necessary to fortify the right bank of the Euphrates as far down as the mouth of al-Ĥâbûr in order to secure direct connection between the towns of Palmyra, Oriza, and Circesium. It would indeed be remarkable if, in the belt stretching from Damascus northeast to the Euphrates, Diocletian had fortified all the passages along the southern base of the mountain ranges as far as Oriza, but had not done the same between this camp and the Euphrates. We should, therefore, expect to find Roman garrisons at the site of the present al-Kşejbe, at Këbâkeb, or near ad-Dejr, and at al-Mijâdîn. Al-Kşejbe, with its remains of old buildings, dominates the easiest passage across the al-Bişri range. Ad-Dejr closes the road from west to east along the Euphrates. Al-Mijâdîn is an important junction of commercial roads from Palmyra to al-Ĥâbûr and from Palmyra to Babylon. Possibly, then, Helela (Alalis) was situated above the modern ad-Dejr at the present Tâbûs ruins (see above, p. 236).

Cohors prima victorum, Ammattha. — If Ammattha is identical with the Alamatha of Ptolemy, we may look for it in the vicinity of the modern al-Mijâdîn.

Equites promoti indigenae, Adada. — Adada (*var.*, Adacha; spelled thus also in Ptolemy, *op. cit.*, V, 14: 19) I regard as the Roman fortress at al-Ĥêr at the foot of the hillocks of ad-Dîdi, in the name of which the ancient name has perhaps been preserved.

Praefectus legionis quartae Scythicae, Oresa. — Oresa — the Oriza of Ptolemy, *loc. cit.*, the Oruba of the *Peutinger Table*, Segm. 10, the Orissa

of the Ravenna geographer, *Cosmographia*, II, 15 (*ed. cit.*, p. 89), the ‘Ord or ‘Orz of the Arabic authorities — is at-Ṭajjibe of today.

It is strange, that Oriza and Adada (at-Ṭajjibe and al-Ĥêr), situated about 90 kilometers northeast of Palmyra, in the *Notitia dignitatum* are assigned to the province of Syria and not to that of Augusta Eufkratensis, as the eastern part of Palmyrena was called.

It is also remarkable that the *Notitia dignitatum* should have a separate subdivision for Augusta Eufkratensis, whereas Syria and Eufkratensis Syria are introduced by the same caption and the names of the fortresses forming the headquarters of the respective *alae* and *cohortes* are listed without any distinction being made between these two latter provinces.

APPENDIX V

AL-‘UWEJR (OR AL-ṬUWEJR) AND AL-BÂRDE

SEJFADDOWLE AT AL-BÂRDE AND AL-‘UWEJR

Al-Mutanabbi (*Diwân* [De Sacy], pp. 15–18; *ibid.* [Dieterici], pp. 570–574) reports that the ‘Âmer ibn Ṣaṣa’a, ‘Okejl, Kušejr, al-‘Aġlân, and Awlâd Ka’ab ibn Rabî’a ibn ‘Âmer tribes assembled on the plains about the town of Salamja and the Kilâb ibn Rabî’a ibn ‘Âmer tribe and others at the water of az-Zerqa’ between Ĥunâšira and Sûrijja. All raised complaints against their overlord Sejfaddowle, pillaged his territory, and killed many of his adherents from the Tarleb tribe in the settlement of Za’râja (also called al-Marbû’). Intending to punish them, Sejfaddowle left Aleppo; slept on Tuesday, June 4, 955 A. D., on his farm of ar-Râmûse, two miles from Aleppo; marched over Tell Mâseḥ to the watering place of al-Ḥawâr, where the cavalry of some chiefs of the Kilâb tribe joined him; and, thus reënforced, attacked the enemy’s camp on Thursday morning near the waters at al-Bedijje. Then he advanced on Salamja, whence the Arabs had fled that morning. On Friday at sunrise the Ka’ab tribesmen drew off with their herds and tents to the waters of Ĥejrân, one day’s march from Salamja, and the rest to the more distant watering place of al-Forkłos, their cavalry having in the meantime surrounded Sejfaddowle’s camp. But he attacked, drove back, and pursued them and the same afternoon reached the enemy’s camp near Ĥejrân but found it deserted. In the evening he had meant to encamp at al-Forkłos, but, in the hot pursuit of the fleeing Arabs before midnight, he reached al-Rontor, where he slept. His riders also returned there with their spoil: flocks of sheep and goats, riding and pack camels, as well as other goods.

The following Sunday he advanced before sunrise on the watering place of al-Ġeba’ and sent out troops in pursuit of the fleeing enemy. He himself went by way of aṣ-Ṣaṣaḥân and al-Ma’âteš to the watering places of al-‘Uwejr, Nihja, al-Bêda, Ṭudur, and al-Ġifâr, at all of which he found traces of the sudden flight of the nomads. On Monday morning his vanguard entered Tadmur, surprising the Bedouins camping in the

vicinity, who had not expected to be pursued as far as that. At noon, therefore, they took to flight again, promptly pursued by Sejfaddowle's warriors. Sejfaddowle arrived at Tadmur half an hour before sunset. Without stopping he went at the utmost speed after the fleeing nomads, among whom were the chiefs of the al-Muhanna (not Muhajja as printed), Hawta, and 'Âmer ibn 'Okejl families. They tried to reach the northwestern part of the desert of as-Samâwa. He overtook some and captured a number of women, but did not dare to cross the border of as-Samâwa proper. There many of the Arabs died of thirst. A considerable part of them collected at the wells of Ibn Su'âde and Lu'lu'a, but there was not enough water for them all and the rest took refuge in the ridge of Kalamûn by the lowland of al-Rûta near Damascus. —

The water of az-Zerka' is the spring of az-Zerka, 34 kilometers north-northwest of Esrija. That the latter is identical with the Sûrijja of al-Mutanabbi is shown by the fact that az-Zerka lies on the route from Esrija to Hunâsira. Za'râja is 45 kilometers north-northeast from Hunâsira. From al-Forklos south to al-Rontor is 30 kilometers and from this point east-southeast to al-Geba' is 14 kilometers.

The distance between al-Rontor and Tudmor, 105 kilometers, was made by Sejfaddowle in no less than thirty hours. He set out on Sunday before sunrise and arrived in Tudmor on Monday, half an hour before sunset. Since he was in pursuit of the enemy, we may safely assume that he stayed at no place longer than was absolutely necessary; on the other hand, as he took a comparatively long time to advance a relatively short distance, he could not therefore have followed a direct course, but must have been looking for the nomads at all the watering places in the neighborhood. The report enumerates seven of these, but it seems that they are not named in their natural order. We may locate the watering places of al-Geba' and al-Bêda with precision, because the last named is identical with the station and well of al-Bêza of today. Nihja we place at the large ruins of at-Tjâs, which in Jâkût's time were still partly inhabited. Rudur might be identified with Rudr Šerife. The manholes above a subterranean aqueduct are called *al-ġifâr* and from these, of which there are a great many about the settlement of al-Zerjitejn, the name al-Ġifâr may have been derived. But Sejfaddowle must surely have called also at the watering places lying near the lowland of ad-Daw, through which runs a road to Tudmor. One of these is al-Bârde, by which there is an easy passage from ad-Daw through the mountain chain of ar-Rawâk to the south and into the desert of as-Samâwa.

The wells of al-Bârde are from half a meter to ten meters deep. They never lose their water, are at no great distance from the plain, and their vicinity is consequently much in favor as a camping ground. Therefore it would have been strange if Sejfaddowle had not stopped there and if the report of his campaign had not referred to them in some way. There the Bedouins, fleeing from north to south, must have encamped; and if they had not been driven away from the wells by Sejfaddowle, they could have attacked him from behind. The modern name al-Bârde (The Cold), which means that the water always remains cold, is undoubtedly of later origin, just as at-Tajjibe, the name of another important watering place once called 'Ord, is also of later origin. Of the remaining three names mentioned in the report, al-'Uwejr, aṣ-Ṣaḥṣaḥân,

and al-Ma‘âteš, neither aş-Şaḥṣaḥân nor al-Ma‘âteš may be identified with al-Bârde.

Al-Bekri, *Mu‘ğam* (Wüstenfeld), p. 599, states that aş-Şaḥṣaḥân is a valley on the road from al-Medîna to Syria and cites a verse of the poet al-Aḥṭal, in which the lowland (*baṭn*) of aş-Şaḥṣaḥân is mentioned as lying on the road to the valley of al-‘Oḳâb. Jâkût, *Mu‘ğam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 3, p. 371, writes that aş-Şaḥṣaḥân is a plain between the towns of Aleppo and Tadmur. — The Baṭn aş-Şaḥṣaḥân is perhaps identical with the lowland of ad-Daw on the road from Tudmor by way of the pass of al-‘Oḳâb to Damascus. I look for Sejfaddowle’s camp of aş-Şaḥṣaḥân near the wells Ğebâb al-‘Ammi.

The name al-Ma‘âteš (Thirst Wells) indicates wells with only a little water in them; and such ones are to be found in the lowland of ad-Daw by the ruined Ḥân al-Leben.

The only remaining unidentified place name mentioned in the report of Sejfaddowle’s campaign is al-‘Uwejr (often spelled al-‘Awîr).

The watering place of al-‘Awîr was known to al-Aḥṭal, *Diwân* (Salhani), pp. 96, 202, 240, according to whom it lay in a mountain valley, with burying grounds close by. This would apply to the location of al-Bârde, which also lies in a valley shut in by high mountains not far from an ancient cemetery. In conjunction with al-‘Awîr the poet also mentions the places Ḥafir, as-Sajâla, Šâmât, and Dât ar-Rimt. — Ḥafir is surely identical with al-Ḥufejjer lying west of al-Bârde.

The poet al-Ḳuṭâmi, *Diwân* (Barth), pp. 4f., mentions the watering places of Nabi, al-‘Awîr, Arak, and the sand hills of al-‘Ajta. — Nabi may be identified with the watering place of al-Mumbaṭaḥ (see my *Arabia Deserta*, p. 40, note 8), Arak with the settlement of the same name northeast of Tudmor, and al-‘Ajta with the sandy district of al-‘Îta south and southwest of al-Bârde. We might, therefore, identify al-‘Awîr with al-Bârde.

According to al-Bekri, *Mu‘ğam* (Wüstenfeld), pp. 685f., al-‘Awîr is a place in Syria. He infers this from the words of a poet who describes his wanderings by way of the valley of al-‘Awîr and of as-Suwâġer to the caliph Yazid, Moawiyah’s son, who was residing at Ḥuwwârîn. — If the wandering poet came from the south, from the desert of as-Samâwa, he would have had to pass the watering place of al-Bârde in order to reach Ḥawwârîn. This poem, therefore, permits us to look for al-‘Awîr in al-Bârde.

There was another al-‘Awîr in Syria, but near the Ḳoṭḳoṭ hills and therefore northeast of Palmyra (al-Aḥṭal, *op. cit.*, p. 295; al-Bekri, *op. cit.*, p. 741).

Al-Bekri, *op. cit.*, p. 227, and Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 827, write al-Ruwejr instead of al-‘Awîr. Jâkût states that this is a watering place of the Kalb tribe in the desert of as-Samâwa between Irak and Syria. — Very likely he did not know its right location.

AL-RUWEJR AND THE KALB AND ẸEJS TRIBES

Al-Ruwejr is known in connection with the wars — or, better, mutual raids — of the Kalb and Ẹejs tribes. Abu-l-Faraġ, *op. cit.*, Vol. 20, pp. 120—123, records various incidents from these raids. The starting point

of the ʔejs tribe was the town of ʔarkʔisija'; that of the Kalb, Tadmur. A famous leader of the invading ʔejs was Zafar ibn al-Ḥareṭ. Once he led a raid against the camps at al-Maṣbaḥ, where he met some pilgrims. After successfully attacking on the first day the camp by the side of the waters of Ḥaṣif, he sent the prisoners to ʔarkʔisija'; then he turned to al-Maṣbaḥ, where a great number of warriors had collected, who offered a tough resistance, two members of the Ṭaṭeib tribe aiding them bravely. Both of the latter were slain, as were also eighteen men of the Kalb. After the fight there were left at the waters only women, who threw the dead into the Kawkab well. On learning of this, the head chief of the Kalb tribe, Ḥumejd ibn Ḥurejt ibn Baḥdal, went to Tadmur, his warriors and allies joining him there. Thence he marched against the ʔejs, a clan of which, the Beni Numejr, was camping in the mountains. Ḥumejd posted himself at one of the watering places. The report of this expedition having reached Zafar, he also set out instantly and halted in one of his settlements. Irritated by this, Ḥumejd in haste gave his permission that all the members of the Beni Numejr clan, then prisoners of war in Tadmur, should be killed. The overseer of Tadmur, who was accompanying him, mounted his horse at once and galloped home to put the order into execution. Shortly after, Ḥumejd, realizing the consequences, sent a courier after him; but he arrived in Tadmur too late. In retaliation Zafar killed all the men of the Kalb he could lay hands on. Thus, for instance, five hundred of them fell in the al-Ğujûṣ valley, where they were hunting. Ḥumejd went on to meet Zafar but did not find him, since he had returned in the meantime to ʔarkʔisija'. The Beni Numejr relate, as recorded by Abu-l-Farağ, that they assailed the camps of the Kalb at Hafir, al-Faras, al-Iklil, al-Ğowf, al-Ruwejr, al-Hejl, Ka'âba, and Dehmân. Before the encounter in al-Ruwejr, a member of the Beni Numejr, whose mother, a born Kalb, had taught him the dialect of her tribe, was sent out as a spy. This man learned that Ḥumejd was at that time camping in Ruwejr aḍ-Ḍab'. Here he was subsequently attacked. In Ruwejr aḍ-Ḍab' there was a strongly fortified house with a gate (Abu-l-Farağ, *op. cit.*, Vol. 20, p. 122). Intimidated by frequent attacks, the Kalb clans left all the camps exposed to danger and sought refuge beyond the Syrian settlements in al-Ruwejr. —

There is unfortunately neither chronological nor topographical coherence in all these statements. It seems that the attack on al-Maṣbaḥ was one of the first. Al-Maṣbaḥ was an extensive camping ground with many wells of different names. In Arabia Deserta there are only a few such camping grounds, the best known of them being those in the valleys of al-Mijâh and Ḥawrân. I believe that al-Maṣbaḥ should be sought for near the Wâdi Ḥawrân. If the name al-Maṣbaḥ is properly preserved, we might look for it at the ʔulbân aṣ-Ṣbejhât, 240 kilometers south of ʔarkʔisija'. But it is also possible that al-Maṣbaḥ, which is mentioned by no other Arabic writer, is a corruption of al-Muṣajjah, which is the name of a camping ground that gained fame in the earliest Moslem conquests. According to the Arabic reports, al-Muṣajjah is to be looked for in the lower part of the Wâdi Ḥawrân. This location of al-Maṣbaḥ (or al-Muṣajjah) seems to be confirmed by the statement of Abu-l-Farağ that the head chief Ḥumejd ibn Baḥdal chose Tudmor for the meeting place of his warriors and allies. Ḥumejd had been staying near the caliph and

therefore in the neighborhood of Damascus. On receiving the report of the battle at the al-Maşbaḥ (or al-Muşajjaḥ), he drew near his kinsmen and waited for them at Tudmor. It is evident from this that al-Maşbaḥ (or al-Muşajjaḥ) is to be looked for to the southeast or, at any rate, to the south of Tudmor, but certainly not to the southwest or west of this place. Ḥumejd must then have gone northeast from Tudmor, since only in the al-Bišri ridge can we place the camp of the Beni Numejr. Only from the al-Bišri range could they easily have got in touch with the other clans of the ʔejs living by the river al-Ḥâbûr and have sent the news to Zafar to come to their assistance.

Crossing the Euphrates, Zafar halted on its western bank in some settlement owned by him. Afterwards, to force Ḥumejd's withdrawal, he attacked the Kalb tribesmen in the valley of al-Ġujûš, which lay either south or southeast of al-Bišri; then he went back to Karḳisija' in order to prevent Ḥumejd from outflanking him. This was the time when the Kalb tribe was attacked in the valley of al-Hejl, which also stretches south of al-Bišri, and probably in the camping ground of the valleys of al-Iklîl and al-Ġowf as well. Al-Ġowf must be identical with the basin where the oasis of Dûmat al-Ġandal was situated, for the Kalb at the time of the events under consideration had their encampments south of there at the Banât ʔejn wells. Frightened at all that had happened, the Kalb clans left the inner desert and emigrated (according to Abu-l-Faraġ, *op. cit.*, p. 123) to the borders of the cultivated lands, in order to have the camps of other allied tribes and the Syrian towns behind them. They are all supposed to have encamped at al-ʔuwejr, or ʔuwejr aḍ-Ḍab'. They could not enter a territory which was already settled, since their herds of camels, goats, and sheep would have destroyed all the fields and orchards. They had to stay, then, on the border and look for camping grounds with plenty of water, good pasture, and the possibility of easier defense. Such a terrain the vicinity of al-Bârde has always been and still is, and thus I regard it as al-ʔuwejr, mentioned so often by the Arabic writers. It is a basin of some depth, enclosed by steep mountains, to which the name *rowr*, or *ruwejr* in the diminutive form (hollow closed by steep slopes), is well suited. There is plenty of water within as well as all around it, the pasturage is rich, and the defense easy. From the northeast leading to al-Bârde there are three passages, and, since every road approaching them passes by some town or village, any hostile troops could be sighted at once. The route to the northern passage runs by Tudmor; that to the central one by the settlements of al-Bḥara and al-Hazîm; and that to the southern by the post of al-Bašîri, or the old Danaba. The location of al-Bârde combines all the features ascribed by Abu-l-Faraġ (*loc. cit.*) to al-ʔuwejr. It seems that the ʔejs tribe had many allies among the tribes and settlements in the vicinity of al-ʔuwejr, for their attacks on the camps of the Kalb continued. No report says actually that the ʔejs got possession of the camp at al-ʔuwejr, but the fact that they fought in its neighborhood is certain. The strongly fortified house with a gate mentioned in the report probably stood near one of the passages leading to this camp. Al-Ḥafir I identify with al-Ḥufejjer, 27 kilometers from al-Bârde, and al-Faras is 40 kilometers farther north.

APPENDIX VI
HISTORICAL NOTES ON AR-REŞÂFA
GEOGRAPHICAL SITUATION OF AR-REŞÂFA

The origin of the town of ar-Reşâfa is very problematic. None of the Babylonian or Assyrian authorities known to us refer to it, although the kings of Assyria made several expeditions into the neighboring country between approximately the years 1100 and 800 B. C. If the town had then been of any great importance, it would surely have been visited by the Assyrian armies and the annalists would have recorded the fact. But this did not happen. However, towards the end of the ninth century before Christ ar-Reşâfa was of such importance that its governor was included among those Assyrian officials after whom the year was designated. It may be assumed that ar-Reşâfa was founded in that century as a fortified camp of the Assyrian army and was the residence of the Assyrian governor of the country tributary to it. It is also possible—highly probable, indeed—that on the site of this new Assyrian town a settlement of the same kind had existed before, since the lands lying north, west, and south of it could be cultivated in many places, and the location was very important to the commercial caravans. It is true that there is neither brook, spring, nor even a natural well in or about ar-Reşâfa, but after abundant rains the water flowing from afar into the low plain west of the town may be collected in big rain pools or led into deep cisterns. If the early inhabitants had taken care to collect as much of the rain water as possible and to build themselves large subterranean cisterns protected against the wind and sun, they could have laid in a supply of water lasting them two years, or even longer, for Palmyrena has never been without rain. At a depth of 75 meters they could have found water, albeit somewhat brackish, since the soil contains much gypsum—indeed, in the mountains to the south, alabaster, a form of gypsum, predominates. To the northeast, east, and south of ar-Reşâfa there are a great number of deep sink holes, or dolines, known as *daḥal*; here after heavy rains the water is often ten meters deep and keeps fresh as long as three years. The more industrious inhabitants therefore could have obtained water enough to raise even grain, olives, figs, and perhaps grapes in their fields and orchards about the town. Their flocks could have found pasture and water all the year round farther out in the surrounding country, especially to the south and southwest.

A rich source of profit to the people of ar-Reşâfa also lay in the commercial caravans which passed through their settlement. Although ar-Reşâfa was not located in an oasis, the topography of the country compelled the caravans to visit this town. From the modern Abu Hrêra to the northwest as far as the modern settlement of Dejr az-Zôr to the southeast the bluffs on the right bank of the Euphrates fall off almost into the very river. In some places the banks are barely two meters wide and in others they are covered when the Euphrates is flooded.

This causes the larger commercial caravans to seek a road at some distance from the river. Unable to make good progress alongside the stream, they draw away from it, preferring to travel where the channels of the *še'ibân* from the uplands merge into the surrounding plains. Southeast of ar-Reşâfa the plain is broken by the furrowed range of al-Biśri, which, extending to the northeast, confines the Euphrates to a narrow gorge that the river has dug for itself during countless ages. The range affords several passages, but caravans with heavily laden beasts avoid these, since both in the ascent and descent a burden easily shifts, loses its balance, and either slides off or causes the animals to fall, making the entire caravan stop and adding to the labor of the drivers. For this reason the larger commercial caravans whenever possible select a road that is level for the most part, even if longer, knowing well that the roundabout way will save both themselves and the animals much unnecessary exertion and will also permit them to travel more speedily. Such a convenient, roundabout way is afforded almost directly south of ar-Reşâfa through the deep gap separating the range of al-Biśri from that of Abu Riġmên to the west. Besides being deep, this gap is readily passable and contains plenty of water, and the country along the route may be cultivated. On the south the route leads to an undulating plain, across which the caravans may go either southeast to old Babylonia or to southern Syria and Phoenicia. It is well known that great caravans have traversed this gap throughout historical time.

As we know, on one side of the gap there rises the lofty range of Abu Riġmên, which extends to this point from the Antilebanon and Damascus. On the south this range falls off steeply into a rolling plain; to the north it is flanked by numerous foothills, which gradually lose themselves in another plain. The whole range might still be cultivated, and it always has been, as it now is, much frequented. In former times the main east-west transport road led, as it now leads, along the northern foot of the foothills, and at ar-Reşâfa it joined the road going through the gap between al-Biśri and Abu Riġmên. This settlement thus lay at an important junction of transport roads running north and south and west and east. Furthermore, the left bank of the Euphrates near ar-Reşâfa was also the terminus of two very important transport roads, one at the site of the modern ar-Raġġa (the ancient Nicephorium) and the other in the neighborhood of the modern settlement of Bâlis, where I look for the old ford, Thapsacus.

When the caravans which had forded the Euphrates at Thapsacus or Nicephorium wished to go to Phoenicia, Egypt, or Babylonia they had to visit ar-Reşâfa. For this reason, whoever held this place also controlled important arteries of communication and a large part of the world's trade of that period. As the classical authorities tell us, commercial caravans avoided traveling not only along the Euphrates but along the Tigris as well, because the chiefs of the various settlements on both rivers exacted payment from them and made them stop unnecessarily, delaying their marches and in this manner considerably reducing their profits. To avoid these pests, the larger caravans preferred to make treaties with the chiefs of the great tribes, under whose protection they could travel at some distance from the rivers. Furthermore, from a town or a camp situated inland—for instance, from ar-Reşâfa—the great

chiefs could be controlled more easily than from a fort built on the river itself.

The commander of ar-Reşâfa could send troops against an encampment of nomads and compel the chief to punish robbers, return stolen goods, and carry out what he had agreed to do and what he was paid for. When moving, the more powerful tribes are accustomed to use the same roads as the great commercial caravans, because they are sure of finding there water and the other necessities which they either buy or receive in exchange for their flocks. If the great tribes which formerly camped in northern Arabia wished to migrate into northern Palmyrena, they would have to pass through the gap between the ranges of al-Biṣri and Abu Riġmên, where the commander at ar-Reşâfa could easily intercept them. Moreover, Palmyrena has always been to a considerable extent a cultivated and permanently settled region. For the settlers seeking protection against their worst enemies, the nomads, the fortified camp at ar-Reşâfa possessed many advantages as a point of defense.

PRE-CHRISTIAN AR-REŞÂFA

Aware of the importance of such a position, the Assyrian kings made ar-Reşâfa the seat of their administration, and from here they dominated not only the important avenues of commerce but a large permanently settled territory and many nomadic tribes as well. The origin, the prosperity, and the fall of ar-Reşâfa might remind one of the career of the more recent town of Hatra, the modern al-Ḥaẓr, in Mesopotamia. But the location of ar-Reşâfa is far more important than that of Hatra, a circumstance which enabled the former to endure far longer, especially since it became a main pilgrimage center of the Syrian Christians. This, however, would never have happened if ar-Reşâfa had not, in the first millennium after Christ, been a commercial center of great importance. The merchants departing from or going there knew well the danger threatening them from the hostile, or at least unfriendly, Persian and Byzantine Arabs and later from the Moslems of Irak and Syria; therefore they asked for the intercession and protection of St. Sergius and spread his glory throughout the Orient.

Of the history of ar-Reşâfa many interesting fragments have been preserved.

Ra-ṣap-pa is mentioned in 840 B.C. (Eponym Lists: Winckler, *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch* [1909], p. 75); also in 838 (Bezold, *List of Officials* [1889], p. 286, pl. 3; Winckler, *Eponymenlisten*, in Schrader, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, Vol. 3, Part 2, p. 144), in 804 and 775 (Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. 2, pl. 52, No. 1, reverse; Schrader, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 208, 210), in 747 (Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pl. 48, No. 1; Peiser, *Texte*, in Schrader, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 100), and in 737 (Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pl. 52, No. 1, obverse; Schrader, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 212). (See also Musil, *The Middle Euphrates* [1927], pp. 210f.)

Isaiah 37: 12 and 2 Kings 19: 12 mention Reşef along with Gozan, Haran, and Bene 'Eden in Tel'assar districts adjacent to the district of the present ar-Reşâfa.

Ptolemy, *Geography*, V, 14: 19, mentions Resapha as one of the towns of Palmyrena.

According to the *Peutinger Table*, Segm. 10, Risapa was situated on the Roman road from Damascus by way of Palmyra and Oruba (aṭ-Ṭajjibe) to the Euphrates.

The anonymous Ravenna geographer, *Cosmographia*, II, 15 (Pinder and Parthey, p. 89) calls it Risapha.

After 293 Rosapha belonged to the province of Augusta Eufkratensis. It was garrisoned by the *equites promoti indigenae* (*Notitia dignitatum*, Oriens 33, No. 5; spelled Rosafa, *ibid.*, 33, No. 27).

MARTYRDOM OF ST. SERGIUS

In the Christian era ar-Reşâfa became famous by reason of the grave of St. Sergius, who, according to several reports, also had died there (Bolland, *Acta Sanctorum*, Oct., Vol. 3 [1770], pp. 835 ff.). These records also state that towards the end of the third or in the beginning of the fourth century accusations that they were Christians were made to the emperor Maximian against Sergius, the first in command, and Bacchus, the second in command, of the foreign palace guard. The emperor handed them over to the *dux* Antiochus, who, at the fort of Barbarissus (Bâlis), had Bacchus beaten till he died. Bacchus' body was not to be buried, but in the evening several hermits living in some caves near by came and laid him to rest in a cave. The following day the *dux* went from Barbarissus to the fort of Sura, whither Sergius was also brought. There Antiochus made him put on shoes with sharp, straight nails, and ordered him to be driven before his chariot as far as the fortress of Tetrapyrgium, nine miles from Sura, where Antiochus slept in the *praetorium*. The next day the *dux* drove the martyr in the same manner to the fort of Ruzafata, nine miles from Tetrapyrgium, where he sentenced him to death by decapitation. The executioners then bored holes in his lips and, putting a rope through them, led him out to some place, where they cut off his head. Merciful people buried his body in the same spot, but not until many years after was a structure of stone and mud erected over the grave. Soon after, the remains of the blessed Bacchus were exhumed and laid alongside those of St. Sergius. The same thing was also done with the virgin Julia, martyred in the time of the eparch Martianus. In a later period, when the Christian religion had already spread far and wide, fifteen bishops assembled and built by the fort of Ruzafata a suitable tomb, into which the body of the martyred saint was laid to its final rest.

According to the records in Bedjan, *Acta martyrum* (1890-1897), Vol. 3, pp. 283-322, and *Liber chalipharum* (Land), p. 18, St. Sergius and Bacchus died in 232 A. D. The *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* (Delehaye), cols. 115 f., calls Antiochus the *dux Augustopoleos* of the eparchy of Eufkratensis, whereas the *Passio antiquior SS. Sergii et Bacchi* (*Analecta bollandiana*) p. 377, calls him more correctly the *dux* of the eparchy of Augusto-Eufkratensis.

Barbarissus is written in *Passio antiquior*, p. 384, as Barbalisos, and is placed on the Saracen border line. Bedjan, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, p. 299, gives the name as Bejt Balaš. This is the modern Bâlis, seventy kilometers northwest of ar-Reşâfa. Instead of the correct Sura, the Sûrija of today, the records of the *Acta sanctorum* always call this place Castrum

Syrum or Castellum Syrum. Castrum Tetrapyrgium of these records is identical with the Kṣejr as-Sêle, about twelve kilometers southwest of Sûrija. The records give this distance as 9 miles (over 14 kilometers), or exactly the same as the distance between Tetrapyrgium and ar-Reṣâfa. This would place Tetrapyrgium midway between Sura and ar-Reṣâfa. In reality Kṣejr as-Sêle and ar-Reṣâfa are 15 kilometers from each other.

We may only interpret the records of Sergius' martyrdom as showing that he was not decapitated inside ar-Reṣâfa, but outside of it, perhaps on a scaffold like those which stood on the outskirts of every Oriental town. It is also probable that he was buried right beside the scaffold. Over this place, a long time after, there was built some sort of tomb (*aedificium*) which was made of stone and mud and consequently could not have been a church. Whether his comrade Bacchus was likewise transferred there it is impossible to say, but this much is certain, that in later centuries Bacchus' grave was shown in Barbalissus (Bâlis). Tradition does not give the year when the fifteen bishops built a suitable tomb for Sergius but is very precise in stating that this *cymiterium* was erected not inside but outside the fort in front of the walls and that the martyr's body was then deposited there. Consequently, we may look for the second tomb of Sergius in front of the northern town gate, where there is a large Christian cemetery. The site of this second tomb is probably identical with that of the church that was either rebuilt or richly endowed by the great Ghassanian chief Alamundarus (al-Mundir), phylarch from 570 to 581 A. D.

AR-REṢÂFA IN THE FIFTH AND SIXTH CENTURIES

After the ecclesiastical Council of Ephesus in 431, John, the patriarch of Antioch, persecuted Alexander, the metropolitan of Hierapolis in Syria Eufkratensis, for being a follower of the condemned Nestorius (Bolland, *op. cit.*, pp. 845-847). In order to weaken the power not only of Alexander but also of the bishops associated with him, John separated the church of St. Sergius from the Hierapolitan diocese, raised it to the rank of a cathedral, and ordained its first bishop. Against these acts Alexander, with six bishops of the Hierapolitan metropolis, repeatedly protested to the empresses Eudocia and Pulcheria; his letters to this effect have been preserved in the *Synodicon adversus tragoediam Irenaei* of the sixth century.

Alexander wrote (Mansi, *Concilia* [1761], Vol. 5, cols. 915f.) that the patriarch John entered the church of the holy and good, victorious martyr Sergius, which belonged to the Hierapolitan diocese, and there, in defiance of the prevailing customs, ordained a new bishop. For this reason he entreated the empresses to induce the emperor to annul all the ordainments of John and to order the metropolitan of Hierapolis to ordain the bishops of his province conformably with the rules of the holy and blessed fathers. The emperor was to return the basilica of the holy and good, victorious martyr Sergius to the Hierapolitan diocese to which it had always belonged before the great church, high walls, and other buildings in the same walled town were erected.

Alexander protests (*ibid.*, Vol. 5, col. 926) that he would not acknowledge the patriarch John if he were to offer him the whole Kingdom of

Heaven, not to speak of Resapha or other towns in the desert. He further complains (*ibid.*, cols. 943f.) that the patriarch of Antioch took away from him the church of the martyr, on building which he had expended nearly three hundred pounds of gold, thus encumbering his entire province with debt. —

According to Alexander's statements, ar-Reşâfa had belonged to the metropolis of Hierapolis since ancient times and not long before 431 a great basilica had been built there, costing almost three hundred pounds of gold. At the same time high walls and various buildings had been put up. It seems, therefore, that the present walls of ar-Reşâfa cannot date back to the time of Justinian I but must be ascribed to that of the metropolitan Alexander, the second decade of the fifth century. If, then, this town of decreasing commercial value could be clothed in such splendor, it is easily seen that it must have been the point of pilgrimage for Christians from far and near. The principal church festival was held on St. Sergius' day, early in October (Elijah of Nisibis, *Opus chronologicum* [Chabot], p. 101).

In 509 the famous Rabban Bar-'Idta' was born at ar-Reşâfa. In his biography, written in the second half of the ninth century, ar-Reşâfa is called *kerije* (a settlement) (Budge, *Rabban Hôrmizd* [1902], Vol. 1, p. 115).

Several columns from the martyrty below the northern gate bear inscriptions which make it evident that they were erected in the time of a bishop Sergius and of an assistant or rural bishop (*chorepiscopus*) Maronius. (Guyer, *Ruşâfah* [1920], p. 15, makes of the rural bishop Maronius an archbishop). It is possible that this Bishop Sergius is identical with the bishop Sergius who was sent to King al-Mundir at al-Hira in 524 (see below, p. 267) and that the martyrty was therefore built either shortly before or soon after that date. From that time also may date the decoration of the northern gate. According to the quoted reports it is probable that all the larger churches inside the town had been built before Justinian had ar-Reşâfa fortified and that this is why Procopius makes no mention of the building or decorating of the churches there by order of Justinian.

Procopius, *De aedificiis*, II, 9: 3-9, relates that in the province of Euphratensis is the shrine of St. Sergius, which was so highly revered by the ancients that after it they named the town Sergiopolis. It was enclosed with an insignificant wall, which, although made only of mud, was sufficient to keep the nomads, roving in the vicinity, from entering the town at the first onslaught. Justinian erected strong walls around the shrine, which was famous for its precious gifts and sacred vessels, and built houses, colonnades, and other fine structures as well as great cisterns for storing water. A garrison sent to the town for its defense accounts for its holding out against Chosroes. —

It is not certain whether Justinian built new walls or merely had the old ones repaired and the gates decorated. The famous cisterns of ar-Reşâfa are undoubtedly of older origin. The water was let into them, not so much from the streets as from a vast reservoir west of the town, whence it flowed through a stone aqueduct across the rampart, over the moat, and through the walls. Procopius does not state in what years all this happened, but it must have been prior to 542, in which year Chosroes laid siege to ar-Reşâfa in vain, as is related by Procopius.

Procopius (*De bello persico*, II, 5: 29-33) reports that in 540 Chosroes, having taken Sura (Sûrija), offered to sell to Bishop Candidus of Sergiopolis, which is situated in the Barbarian Plain, 12,000 captives for 200 pounds of gold; this the bishop refused, having no money at that time. Chosroes then sent him word that he would content himself with a promissory note, which Candidus willingly gave, declaring under oath that he would pay the sum demanded within a year. This act set the captives free, but many of them died.

In 542 (*ibid.*, II, 20: 1-16) Chosroes again marched along the right bank of the Euphrates and approached Sergiopolis. Candidus, who had not yet paid his debt, since he was unable to procure the money anywhere, went to him and, after being tortured, begged to be sent under a Persian escort to Sergiopolis, where he would get for Chosroes the sacred vessels. This was done, but Chosroes was not satisfied, declaring this was not enough. Therefore he sent six thousand men to capture the town, the garrison of which consisted at that time of only 1200 soldiers. The inhabitants were already becoming inclined to make a treaty with the enemy, when they learned that Chosroes was suffering from thirst and intending to retreat; this he did in a short time. Since Belisarius with his army was near, Chosroes did not march far, but, concluding an armistice with him, threw a bridge across the Euphrates and captured the town of Callinicus. — Evagrius, *Ecclesiastica historia*, IV, 28, mentions among the gifts delivered up to Chosroes a cross of great value, which had been presented by Justinian and Theodora.

To worship St. Sergius in ar-Reşâfa pilgrims used to come all the way from the vicinity of Jerusalem (John Moschus, *Pratum spirituale*, [Migne], col. 3052).

Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* (Chabot), Vol. 4, p. 296, says that the Persians in plundering Callinicus and Bejt Balaš, stole the relics of the martyr-saint Bacchus, as well as the gold from the coffin of St. Sergius.

According to Procopius, *De bello persico*, II, 5: 29, Sergiopolis is 126 stades (about 23 kilometers) from Sura; in reality it is 27 kilometers.

John of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, VI, 4, relates how the phylarch of the Ghassanians, al-Mundir, the son of Hâret, took refuge with his tribes in the inner desert in order to elude the snares of the Byzantine patrician Martianus. After three years al-Mundir wished to become reconciled with the Byzantines and for this purpose invited the commander-in-chief, the patrician Justinian, to a peace parley at ar-Reşâfa. Justinian came, and a reconciliation with al-Mundir took place before the sarcophagus of St. Sergius in about the spring of 575 (see Musil, *Keşefi 'Amra* [1907], p. 136). Guyer, *Ruşâfah* (1920), p. 42, writes that the emperor (Justin) sent the patrician Justinian to al-Mundir on October 6, 578; this, however, is the date of Justin's death.

Possibly an inscription behind the altar in the church outside the northern gate, which says "al-Mundir's lucky destiny is victorious" dates from this period.

Michael the Syrian, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 386, says that in the autumn of 590 Chosroes, the son of Hôrmîzd, asked the emperor Maurice for help, the commander of ar-Reşâfa acting as the intermediary. Chosroes lived at that time in the house of John of ar-Reşâfa, commander of the Byzantine army at Edessa (see *Chronicon civile* [Rahmani], p. 137).

Hamzat al-Işfahâni, *Ta'rih* (Gottwaldt), p. 120, notes that an-No'mân ibn al-Hâret repaired the reservoirs in ar-Reşâfa, which had been demolished by some kings of the Lahm dynasty. — This No'mân with his father al-Hâret fought against the Persians from 604 until at least as late as 616 and was probably often compelled to seek refuge with his troops behind the walls of ar-Reşâfa, on which occasions he repaired the cisterns, as is corroborated by al-Aşma'i (Jâkût, *Mu'ğam* [Wüstenfeld], Vol. 2, p. 955). Al-Aşma'i identifies az-Zawra' with ar-Reşâfa of Caliph Hişâm. Az-Zawra', supposed to have been No'mân's property, was often visited by him and used for safeguarding his booty. Since he was a Christian, a cross glittered above the place. It was inhabited by the Beni Hanifa and was located on the farthest boundary of Syria, where *şih* and *kejšûm* grew. There was no water there. — It is probable that az-Zawra' was the name of the northern suburb of ar-Reşâfa, adjacent to al-Mundir's church.

Evagrius, *Ecclesiastica historia*, VI, 21, writes that when Chosroes II gained the throne — that is, after 591 — he sent to Gregorius, bishop of Antioch, a splendid cross adorned with gold and precious stones, which had been a gift from Theodora, wife of the emperor Justinian, to the martyr-saint Sergius. This cross with many other jewels Chosroes I had carried away from Sergiopolis. Then Gregorius, in the name of the emperor Maurice and at the head of a procession, deposited it solemnly with the other gifts in the tomb in the martyr's shrine. Not long afterwards Chosroes II sent more gifts, because his wife, a Christian Syrian, bore him a son at the intercession of St. Sergius (see Theophylactus Simocatta, *Historiae*, V, 13f.).

St. Sergius (Sergis) was worshipped by the Arabian and Syrian Christians far and wide (Assemanus, *Bibliotheca orientalis* [Rome, 1719-1728], Vol. 2, p. 350; Ahûdemme, *History* [Nau], p. 29; Theophylactus Simocatta, *op. cit.*, V, 1: 7).

Michael the Syrian, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 383, relates that the Ghassanians also had a church of St. Sergius in their capital, Ġabiya.

The Tarleb took the picture of St. Sergius with them on their raids (al-Aḥṭal, *Dîwân* [Salhani], p. 309; Ibn al-Atîr, *Kâmil* [Tornberg], Vol. 4, p. 130).

EARLY EPISCOPAL HISTORY OF AR-REŞÂFA

From the complaints of Alexander, the metropolitan of Hierapolis (Mansi, *Concilia* [1761], Vol. 5, col. 915; see above, pp. 264f.) it appears that the first bishop of Sergiopolis was not consecrated by John, patriarch of Antioch, until after 431. His name we do not know.

At the synod of Antioch of 451 Bishop Marianus of Rosafa (Mansi, *Concilia* [1759-1798], Vol. 7, col. 325) participated.

In 524 mention is made of a Sergius as bishop of ar-Reşâfa (Bejt Reşâfa) who was sent with Abraham, the father of Nonnosus, to al-Mundir, king of al-Hîra, as a peace negotiator. This Sergius was the author of the Syrian part of a report on the martyrs of south Arabia (Simeon of Bejt Arşâm, *Letter* [Guidi], p. 507).

As we have already seen (above, p. 266), in 540 and 542 the bishop of ar-Reşâfa was one Candidus, who ransomed the Christian captives of

Chosroes in the town of Sura (Procopius, *De bello persico* II, 5: 29-33; II, 20: 2-16).

The *Notitia Antiochiae ac Ierosolymae patriarchatum* (*Itin. hieros.*, Vol. 1), p. 336, mentions in about 550 the metropolis of Sergiopolis, with four bishoprics called: Bizonovias (*var.*, Bzonavias, Bizonamas, Bizanonias), Marcopolis, Venethali (*var.*, Venechalis), and Ermenia. — It seems that the residences of the suffragans of Sergiopolis were all located south or south-east of ar-Reşâfa, because neither the town of Sura (Sûrija), lying 120 stades north, nor the bishopric of Barbalissus (Bâlis) on the west-north-west, nor Anasarthā (Ḥunâşira) still farther west is named among them. Unfortunately, the local names are corrupted to such an extent that it is almost impossible to determine the exact positions.

The designation Bizonovias reminds us of the Adiazane of the anonymous Ravenna geographer, *Cosmographia*, II, 15 (Pinder and Parthey, p. 88), or rather of the town of Zonobia, which, according to Procopius, *De aedificiis*, II, 8: 8-24, Justinian had walled and built in a grand style. Its Aramaic name might have been Bejt Zanobia. As *b* is often replaced by *v* (Zonovia instead of Zonobia), both name and location of Bizonovias would seem to agree with Zonobia; and, since it was built only in Justinian's time it may have been subject to the new metropolis of Sergiopolis.

Marcopolis is elsewhere mentioned in Osroëne; after 431 Bishop Cyrus of Marcopolis belonging to the metropolis of Edessa (*Notitia Antiochiae* [*Itin. hieros.*], Vol. 1, p. 332) was a supporter of the metropolitan of Hierapolis (Mansi, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, col. 1269), and in the Council of Chalcedon there participated a certain Caiumas, bishop of Marcopolis situated in the province of Osroëne (*ibid.*, Vol. 7, col. 148). We have no reason to extend the diocese of Sergiopolis to the left bank of the Euphrates, or the diocese of Edessa to the right, since the Euphrates formed the boundary between the political provinces of Augusta Eufkratensis, to which Sergiopolis belonged, and Osroëne in which Edessa was situated.

In the middle of the sixth century mention is made of the monastery of Bishop Joseph at Reşâfa (Assemanus, *Bibliotheca orientalis* [Rome, 1719-1728], Vol. 1, p. 117).

Of the second general Council of Constantinople "Abrahamus Sergiopoleos metropolitanae civitatis" was a member (Harduin, *Conciliorum collectio* [Paris, 1715], Vol. 3, col. 203).

In about 603 Georgius Cyprius (*Descriptio* [Gelzer], p. 45) also mentions Sergiopolis, or Anastasiopolis, among the towns of the eparchy of Euphratesia and Hagiopolis. He says that in his time the town was commonly called Rattafa and that St. Sergius was exiled and then killed in Rattafa.

The *Notitiae graecae episcopatum* (Parthey, 1866), No. 5, p. 142, indicate that the metropolis of Sergiopolis had five subordinate bishops. (See also Eusebius, *Chronica* [Schoene], Vol. 1, App. col. 82.)

According to an inscription in the monastery church, one Simeon was metropolitan of Sergiopolis in 1093.

AR-REŞÂFA UNDER THE EARLY MOSLEMS

During the reign of the Omayyads ar-Reşâfa became known all over the Moslem world as the residence of the caliph Hişâm, the son

of 'Abdalmalek. From there Hišâm went to Damascus to take over the government (aṭ-Ṭabari, *Ta'riḥ* [De Goeje], Ser. 2, p. 1467). Aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 2, pp. 1737f., states that the reason why Hišâm settled there was that the caliphs and their sons liked to live in the country (should be *jatabaddûna* instead of the printed *jantabedûna*), thus escaping contagious diseases and leading a rural life far away from other people. It is said that when Hišâm expressed a desire to settle in ar-Ruşâfa, someone asked him not to go away, as the caliphs could not be infected — such a thing had never been known to happen. Hišâm replied that he would not be experimented upon and moved away to ar-Ruşâfa in the desert, where he built two manors. Ar-Ruşâfa was a Greek town, built by Greeks (see Ibn Šihna, *Rawḍ* [MS Leiden], fol. 82; Abu-l-Farağ, *Arâni* [Bûlâk, 1285 A. H.], Vol. 2, p. 35; aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 2, p. 1738).

Abu-l-Feda', *Muḥtaṣar* (Adler), Vol. 1, p. 456, states that ar-Ruşâfa was demolished prior to Hišâm's arrival, that it enjoys a salubrious atmosphere, and that it is the site of a famous monastery. —

I doubt the correctness of Abu-l-Feda's statement in regard to the destruction of ar-Reşâfa. In the Persian wars not only Chosroes II, who was a great admirer of St. Sergius, but also Heraclius spared the town. In the Mohammedan era no conflict took place near ar-Reşâfa, and the Christian Tarleb would surely have been able to defend it against an attack by the Moslem troops.

The report that Hišâm built two manors in ar-Ruşâfa was handed down from one Arabic writer to another. At one manor was a park with olive trees and a pond (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 2, pp. 1737f., 1813). This manor might be identified with the Kşêr as-Sêle (*ibid.*, p. 1813).

The caliph Hišâm died in ar-Ruşâfa on February 6, 743 (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 2, pp. 1729f.). Shortly after, his successor al-Walid ordered all Hišâm's property in ar-Ruşâfa to be confiscated (*ibid.*, p. 1751).

In 749—750 the Abbasside 'Abdallâh ibn 'Ali (al-Ja'kûbi, *Ta'riḥ* [Houtsma], Vol. 2, pp. 427f.) came to ar-Ruşâfa, entered the cave where the embalmed body of Hišâm was lying on a lounge, dragged it from there, beat its face with his club, and then, placing the body between two rocks, gave it one hundred and twenty blows with his whip, thus breaking it into pieces. The remains he gathered up and burned. —

On the southeastern side of ar-Reşâfa there are caves where the stone was quarried with which the walls and principal buildings were erected.

'Abdallâh ibn 'Ali towards the end of 754 sent Ḥumejd ibn Kaḥṭaba from Ḥarrân to Aleppo with a letter which bade the commander of that town kill the bearer. But Ḥumejd opened and read the message on the way, told its contents to his followers, and asked them to take refuge with him in Irak. He had to pass ar-Ruşâfa, where 'Abdallâh had a lieutenant, who, learning that Ḥumejd had betrayed his master, went in pursuit of him at the head of his cavalry and came up with him on some road in the desert. (Aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 3, pp. 94f.)

According to aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, pp. 98f., 'Abdallâh ibn 'Ali in his flight before the army of the caliph Abu Ġa'far al-Manşûr towards the end of 754 spent only one night at ar-Ruşâfa, after which he hurried on with his retinue to al-Bağra.

Al-Aşma'i (died in 831) writes (Jâkût, *Mu'ğam* [Wüstenfeld], Vol. 2,

pp. 784f.) that there is neither creek nor spring around ar-Ruṣāfa and that its inhabitants have to drink from the town cisterns. When the cisterns give out at the end of the summer, they haul water from the Euphrates, three or four parasangs distant. The wells at ar-Ruṣāfa have a depth of 120 ells or over, but their water is brackish. The desert around ar-Ruṣāfa belongs to the Beni Ḥafāḡe tribe, who for a certain payment take the weaker inhabitants under their protection. Were it not for the love of their country, the inhabitants long ago would have left. The better situated among them keep slaves and donkeys and engage either in peddling or in selling their wares at home in about ten shops. They are very handy at making clothing material. Every man in the town, rich or poor, spins wool, while the women weave.

Ibn Ḥordādbēh, *Masālik* (De Goeje), p. 74, estimates the taxes of ar-Ruṣāfa, az-Zejtūne, Kafar Ḥaḡar, and al-Ġezire at 4,000 *dinārs*.

In 902 A. D. the sons of Zikrwajh, the head chief of the Carmathians (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 3, pp. 2217f.), succeeded in winning over several clans, among them the Beni al-Aṣḡar, with whom they attacked, defeated, and killed the caliph's commander near ar-Ruṣāfa, west of the Euphrates (*ibid.*, p. 2219). After burning the mosque at ar-Ruṣāfa, they pillaged a number of settlements and went as far as the vicinity of Damascus, where Zikrwajh's son Jahja was killed; but his brother took over the command, and the pillage continued.

Al-Bekri, *Muḡam* (Wüstenfeld), p. 379, records the report of Abu 'Abdallāh, the son of Ḥamdūn, who went to ar-Ruṣāfa from Damascus in the company of the caliph al-Mutawakkel (847—861) and visited the manors of Hiṣām and his children. Then he proceeded to examine a fine old monastery in the town, built by the Greeks in the midst of creeks, fields, and trees. When he called for the prior, the latter complained about the oppression from soldiers and marauders, from whom he had to hide in his cell. — Al-Bekri's informant must have confused the location of the monastery at ar-Reṣāfa with some other monastery lying on the Euphrates or Tigris, since there are no creeks in Hiṣām's ar-Reṣāfa.

AR-REṢĀFA IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

Ibn Tarri Birdi, *Nuḡūm* (Popper), Vol. 2, p. 198, relates that in 1042-1043 the city of Tadmur was destroyed by an earthquake, the majority of the inhabitants being killed by the falling ruins. — Probably ar-Reṣāfa suffered on the same occasion.

The famous physician Ibn Buṭlān writes in a letter of 1048-1049 A. D. (Jāḡūt, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 785f.) that Ḳaṣr ar-Ruṣāfa is not much less strongly fortified than the palace of the caliph at Bagdad. It is supposed to be built of stone, and there is there a large church with gilded mosaic decorations, erected by Constantine, the son of Helena. Rain water runs into a cistern under this church. Ar-Ruṣāfa was restored by Hiṣām, the son of 'Abdalmalek, who then made it his residence, where he took refuge from the flies which had tormented him on the banks of the Euphrates. The inhabitants of this fort are of the nomad tribes and for the most part Christians. They make a living by protecting the commercial caravans and by the transport of various wares, as well as by trading with

the robbers. Ar-Ruşâfa lies in a desert so flat that the view is bounded only by the horizon. Aleppo is four days' journey from there.

Ibn al-Atîr, *Kâmil* (Tornberg), Vol. 10, p. 39, records in April, 1068, a great earthquake which extended over both Palestine and Egypt and became so violent that the sea receded a distance of one day's march from the shore. On April 6, 1118, another earthquake (*ibid.*, Vol. 10, p. 373) destroyed many settlements in Irak, Mesopotamia, and other districts. — Probably ar-Reşâfa was also demolished in 1068, after which date the monastery basilica alone was rebuilt. This work was done in 1093, since there is written on a stone set into the western wall of the church: "Renovated in the time of Symeon, the metropolitan of Sergiopolis, in the month of June, 6601 after the Creation of the World." At this time the great arches separating the aisles were reinforced by the support of columns of rose-colored marble, which were rolled into the basilica from the martyrty at the northern gate. In the center of the martyrty some inhabitants of ar-Raḡḡa, hunting in ar-Reşâfa for antiquities during the winter of 1911-12, excavated the fragments of these columns as well as finely-executed smaller, square pillars, similar to those which adorn the tomb of St. Sergius in the monastery basilica. That St. Sergius was buried in the martyrty is certain. Not until it was destroyed by the earthquake was he removed to the basilica, where a tomb was built for him partly of the marble slabs and columns from the old tomb. The plan of the martyrty shows that it had at least twenty-two columns, and, yet, neither in its ruins nor anywhere about can any columns or large fragments of columns be seen, whereas in the basilica, which was originally supported by pillars only without cylindrical columns of any kind, there now are twenty-one columns, and one lies in front of the western wall. Guyer, *Ruşâfah* (1920), p. 15, argues that these columns were taken from the corridors of the old atrium of the basilica, but an inscription calling on St. Sergius to grant peace to all testifies that they were taken from his martyrty. The fragments excavated there also confirm this.

Al-Idrisi, *Nuzha* (Jaubert's transl.), Vol. 2, p. 137, describes ar-Ruşâfa before 1154 as a settlement with flourishing markets lying among inhabited villages. The road from ar-Raḡḡa led right through it to the fortress of al-Morâra on the edge of the desert and farther on to Salamja and Ḥomş and was much frequented by the Arabs on their marauding expeditions.

Jâḡûṭ (d. 1224 A.D.), *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 784f., writes that Hişâm's ar-Ruşâfa lies west of ar-Raḡḡa on the border of the desert. It is supposed to have been built by Hişâm for his summer residence when contagious diseases were ravaging Damascus. In the annals of the Ghasanian kings Jâḡûṭ came across a passage stating that an-No'mân ibn al-Hâreṭ ibn al-Ajham repaired the cisterns there and built the largest one; to Jâḡûṭ this proved the existence of ar-Ruşâfa long before the birth of Islam and also that all that Hişâm built were its walls and his own residence.

Of the monastery of ar-Ruşâfa, Jâḡûṭ says (*ibid.*, pp. 660f.) that it is located in Hişâm's ar-Ruşâfa, the distance being one day's march of a pack camel caravan from ar-Raḡḡa. Jâḡûṭ, who had seen the monastery with his own eyes, considered it one of the wonders of the world, because of its beauty and architecture. It was the abode of monks and

servants of God, stood in the center of the town, and the brothers, like the townspeople, drank from a cistern between the walls.

Abu-l-Feda', *Taḳwīm* (Reinaud and De Slane), p. 271, would correct the statement of Jâḳūt that the distance from ar-Ruṣâfa to ar-Raḳḳa is one day's march, asserting that he visited it himself and found it less than one day from the Euphrates. — Abu-l-Feda' accuses Jâḳūt of an error which the latter did not commit, since he states distinctly (Jâḳūt, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 660) that the distance from ar-Reṣâfa to ar-Raḳḳa is one day's march for pack caravans, which naturally can cover only half the distance a camel rider can put behind him in a day's time.

In 1240 (Abu-l-Feda', *Muḥtaṣar* [Adler], Vol. 4, p. 458) the Khorasmians on their march from Ḥarrân crossed the Euphrates at ar-Raḳḳa and reached al-Ġabbûl, Tell A'zâz, Sermin, and al-Ma'arra, pillaging wherever they could. The governor of Ḥomṣ leagued himself with the people of Aleppo and rose up against them. In the meantime the Khorasmians came by way of Salamja as far as ar-Ruṣâfa, trying to get into ar-Raḳḳa. The Aleppan troops, marching from Tell Sulṭân, overtook them at Şiffin, where they had entrenched themselves. A fight ensued lasting until nightfall, when the Khorasmians crossed the Euphrates and made for Ḥarrân. The Aleppans then went to al-Bira, where they also crossed the Euphrates and followed the enemy, who were now fleeing towards the vicinity of 'Ana.

Al-Kazwini (d. 1283), *'Ağâ'ib* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 2, pp. 132f., writes that he visited the town of ar-Ruṣâfa, situated in the desert not far from ar-Raḳḳa and enclosed by strong stone walls. No creeks or springs are to be found there, while the wells, which are private property, are so deep that ropes 120 ells long are needed to bring up water. The inhabitants drink from cisterns built inside of the town. When the water is used up at the end of the summer, they haul more from the Euphrates, four parasangs distant. The inhabitants, being defenseless, pay tribute to the Beni Ḥafâḡe and make a living by manufacturing wearing apparel and saddle and feed bags, which they offer for sale in the neighboring districts. It is curious that nowhere about the town is there any grain, milch cattle, water, comfort, commerce, or employment. The inhabitants remain there only from their love of the country; otherwise the town would become deserted.

The *Chronicle of Sairt* (Scher), *Patrologia orientalis*, Vol. 4, pp. 253f., states that the faithful took the body of Sergius, buried it in ar-Ruṣâfa, and then built over it a church, which stands on the banks of the Euphrates to this day. — It is not certain whether this is the statement of the author himself or of his copyist. The chronicle was written some time between the ninth and fourteenth centuries.

Ad-Dimişki, *Nuḡba* (Mehren), p. 205, writes that in the administrative district of Bâlis lie Şiffin and Hişâm's ar-Ruṣâfa, which was built on the site of an old Greek town.

Haġġi Ḥalfa, *Ġihân numa'* (Constantinople, 1145 A.H.), p. 593, regards the districts of Bâlis and ar-Ruṣâfa as belonging to the province of Ġinesrîn, of which Aleppo is the capital. In both Bâlis and Ka'at Ġa'bar lived the Turkomans.

APPENDIX VII

SOME EARLY BISHOPRICS OF PALMYRENA

According to the *Notitia Antiochiae ac Ierosolymae* (from the middle of the sixth century, *Itin. hier.* [Tobler], Vol. 1, pp. 335f.) the metropolitanate of Damascus consisted of the following bishoprics: Abli, Palmyron, Laodicia, Euria, Renocora (*var.*, Conochora, Konokola), Yabruda, Danabi, Karatea, Hardani, and Sarraquini.

A petition to the Emperor Leo in 458 was signed (Harduin, *Conciliorum collectio* [Paris, 1715], Vol. 2, col. 720; Mansi, *Concilia* [1759-1798], Vol. 7, col. 559) by the following bishops of the province of Phoenicia Secunda: Joannes Damasci, Uranius Emesae, Joannes Palmyrensis, Thomas Evariae, Dadas Chomoarenus, Eusebius Abydenus, (Eusebius Iabrudorum), Theodorus Castridanabeni, Abraamius Uranensis, Petrus Coradensis, and Eustathius Saracenorum.

Emesa, which as early as 451 was not subordinate to the metropolitan of Damascus, was, according to the *Notitia Antiochiae* (Tobler), p. 337, an independent metropolitanate with four suffragans. To offset this the bishopric of Laodicia Scabiosa (ad Libanum) was assigned to Damascus. Almost all the other bishoprics listed in the *Notitia* are the same as those enumerated in the list of the year 458: Abli: Abylenus (Abydenus); Palmyron: Palmyrensis; Euria: Evariae; Conochora: Chomoarenus; Yabruda: Iabrudorum (Harduin, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, col. 316); Danabi: Danabenus; Karatea: Uranensis (Arachensis); Hardani: Coradensis (Gerodensis); Sarraquini: Saracenorum.

Conochora is also identical with Chonochora, the district of Chono (or Conna). The town of Conna, according to the *Antonine Itinerary*, 199: 8, lay halfway between Heliopolis (Baalbek) and Laodicia Scabiosa. Conna was garrisoned by the *ala prima Francorum* (*Notitia dignitatum*, Oriens 32, No. 35). The district of Conna (or Chonochora) lying between Damascus and Laodicia Scabiosa, which belonged, according to the *Notitia Antiochiae*, to the metropolitanate of Damascus, must also have been a part of this metropolitanate. Heliopolis formed an independent metropolitanate without a suffragan. The forms Conno, Konno, Chonno, Chomo, Chona, Chono(chora), and Gonno may well be variations of the same name, as the negligent authors of the works under consideration used *C*, *K*, *CH*, or *G*, indiscriminately. This same district of Conno, or Gonno, is mentioned by Georgius Cyprius, *Descriptio* (Gelzer), p. 51, in the form Gonaitikon. (See above, p. 23, note 3.)

The names of the residences of the four suffragans of the metropolitanate of Emesa as given in the *Notitia Antiochiae* (*op. cit.*), p. 337, are likewise corrupted. By a queer coincidence the first consonant in all the four names is the same, *r*: Arqui, Ariston (*var.*, Orison), Herigen, Orogison.—Arqui I regard as al-Ḥarrâki, 25 kilometers east, and Orogison as al-Forklos, nearly 40 kilometers southeast of Ḥomṣ. Antonine of Piacenza, *De locis sanctis* (Tobler), p. 381, throws some light on Ariston where

he writes: "Leaving Emiza, we came through the towns of Arissa, Aristossa (*var.*, Ariston), and Epiphania, to the town of Ampamia." — Aristossa or Ariston is identical with Arethusa, the present ar-Rastan. The Arissa of Antonine is corrupted from Larissa, the Kal'at Šejzar of today.

APPENDIX VIII

GABBULA OR ĠABBÛL

The *Patrum nicaenorum nomina* (Gelzer), pp. 18f., state that among the bishops of Coele-Syria who signed the decisions of the Council of Nicea was one Basonis Gambulenus (variants: Gambalaenus, Gabulensis, Abboli; in the Greek text, Gabulas [*ibid.*, p. 64], Gabulon [*ibid.*, p. 72]; and in the Syriac, Gabula [*ibid.*, p. 102]).

Towards the end of the fourth century a certain Severian was bishop in Gabula (Barhebraeus, *Chron. eccles.* [Abbeloos and Lamy], Vol. 1, col. 123).

At the Council of Chalcedon in 451 the decisions were signed among others by one Petros Gabbulon of Syria (Harduin, *Conciliarum collectio* [Paris, 1715], Vol. 2, col. 364).

John Malalas, *Chronographia*, XVIII, 199-204, relates that the Saracen king Alamundarus (al-Mundir), who was in alliance with the Persians, marched with a great army past Circesium as far as the town of Callinicus in Osroëne. As soon as Belisarius heard of this, he went with eight thousand men — five thousand soldiers of the phylarch Aretas (Ĥâret) among them — to the assistance of the local Roman captains. At night the Persians approached the Roman fort of Gabbula (Ġabbûl), situated on a rivulet, where they entrenched themselves. Then they laid a great number of four-pointed grapples about their camp, thus closing all avenues to it except one. Sunica, one of the Roman captains, started in pursuit of them, found some of their troops plundering places in the neighborhood, and learned from captives of their plans. Belisarius, whom several captains had joined in the meantime and who was then camping at the town of Barbalissus (the Bâlis of today) not far from the Persians, surrounded the Persian detachments near Beselathum and Batnae, as well as at other places in that region. The Persians now demolished with wooden engines the walls of Gabbula, which they had already undermined, and captured the fort; yet, on learning that Belisarius was preparing for an attack, they withdrew at night, taking their spoil with them; Belisarius, however, pursued them with such swiftness that they had to encamp again and get ready for a defense. They did this not far from the frontier on this (the right-hand) side of the Euphrates, the passage across which was guarded by Byzantine sailors. On the dry land the Persians were surrounded on the south by the phylarch Aretas with two other captains, on the north by Sunica with one other captain, and on the east by Belisarius himself. On Easter eve, April 19, 531, a battle took place, in which Belisarius was defeated. He therefore embarked with a part of his army and sought refuge in Callinicus; but the rest of the army re-

sisted the Persians successfully, and on the retreat of the latter pursued them for two Roman miles. After this the victors also crossed over to Callinicus. — The town of Batnae, mentioned in this report, is a well known settlement between Aleppo and Membîğ.

Procopius, *De bello persico*, I, 17f., records that in 531 the Roman Empire was invaded by 15,000 Persian cavalry led by the Persian Azareth and the Arab Alamundarus, whose mother's name was Saccica (Şekika). They did not pillage Mesopotamia, as before, but Euphratesia. They crossed the river Euphrates while yet in Assyria, marched through the desert, and appeared suddenly in Commagene. Belisarius, surprised by this, garrisoned the Mesopotamian towns, crossed the Euphrates, and hurried with twenty thousand men to meet the enemy. Learning that the latter was encamped at Gabbula, Belisarius took his position at Chalcis, about 110 stades from there. The Persians, alarmed, commenced a retreat along the right bank of the Euphrates. Belisarius followed them at a distance of one day's march, his intention being not to attack, but simply to force them out of Roman territory. Finally the Persians halted opposite Callinicus, intending to leave the Euphrates and return through the inhospitable desert to Persia again. The Roman troops, who spent the night at Sura, surprised the Persians on the morning of the day before Easter, April 19, just when they were making ready for the march. When Belisarius learned that he would not be able to keep his men from fighting, he placed the infantry by the river on the left wing, the Saracen auxiliaries led by Aretas on the right wing on rising ground, and he himself with the cavalry remained in the center. On the Persian side the Saracens formed the left wing and the Persians the right. After two o'clock in the afternoon the battle was lost for the Romans.

Zacharias the Rhetor, *Historia miscellanea* (Land), 9: 4, writes that the Persians marched through the Roman desert and went into the camp by the Euphrates, according to their custom securing themselves against a surprise attack by digging deep ditches. Belisarius, intending to fight them, overtook them in the last week of Lent. The Persian commander Astabed, who feared the Romans greatly, asked for an armistice in order that the Christians and Jews in his army, as well as the Christian soldiers of Belisarius, might celebrate the festivals. Belisarius agreed, but several of his captains murmured against his leniency and would not hear of an armistice on any grounds. Then, when the fight began, a cold wind blew against the Romans, who were worsted and fled. Many were drowned in the Euphrates.

In 540 Justinian I ordered Gabula to be repaired (Procopius, *De aedificiis*, II, 9: 10).

Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* (Chabot), Vol. 4, p. 276, and Zacharias the Rhetor, *op. cit.*, 8: 5, note that in 545 one Simeon was the prior of the monastery of St. Isaac in Gabula. There were then in that vicinity the monasteries Bejt Reġûm, Mâġûs, Ķubbe, Konôn (or Senûn), and Bejt Mar Ĥanîna'.

Barhebraeus, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, col. 261, relates that in 597 the monk Athanasius, who was afterwards the Jacobite patriarch Julian, carried salt by camels from Gabula to the Kinnesrîn monastery.

Kemâladdîn, *Ta'rih* (Barbier de Meynard), pp. 639f., relates that in the winter of 1123—1124 al-Ğabbûl and the neighboring places were pillaged

by Joscelin, who captured many flocks and drove the inhabitants of Dejr Hâfer from the caves where they had hidden.

According to Kemâladdîn (*Ta'riḥ* [Blochet's transl.], *Rev. d'or lat.*, Vol. 6, pp. 7-11) in 1241 the Khorasmians (Ḥawârezm) marched from Ḥar-rân for a new attack on Aleppo. They crossed the Euphrates at ar-Raḵḵa, reaching al-Fâja', Dejr Hâfer, and al-Ġabbûl, whence they spread all through the administrative district of an-Naḵira, the Aleppan troops having gone to meet them in the meantime. The Khorasmians went nearly as far as Salamijja and, returning from there to ar-Ruṣâfa, were encountered by a troop of Arabs. North and west of al-Balîl they made preparations to cross the Euphrates. On hearing of this, the Aleppans, who had by that time reached Şiffin, hastened to prevent their passage but were unsuccessful in doing so, since the Khorasmians had already selected a position at Bustân al-Balîl, fortifying their camp with palisades and digging all around it a deep trench. The Aleppans fought with them late into the night, but, having neither fodder for their horses nor food for themselves, they finally returned to their camp at Şiffin the same night. The Khorasmians then crossed the Euphrates and reached ar-Raḵḵa in safety, while the Aleppan troops, trying to cross the river at the fort of Ġa'bar, failed to do so because they lacked provisions. —

The district of al-Fâja' extends to the southwest of Membiġ (Hierapolis). From there it appears that the Khorasmians started southwards to Dejr Hâfer, Ġabbûl, and Salamja, after which they turned northeast along the foot of the Abu Riġmên range by way of ar-Reṣâfa to the ford of al-Balîl, about thirty kilometers north-northeast of ar-Reṣâfa. Al-Balîl is identical with the modern Bulîl, as the flood plain east of Sûrija is called. The distance from there to Şiffin, the Banât abu Hrêa of today, is forty-five kilometers.

Jâḵût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 29 f., writes that al-Ġabbûl is a large settlement by the salina of Aleppo. The creek of al-Buṭnân (also called ad-Dahab) empties into this salina after flowing through the settlement. Its water evaporates when it reaches the salina and leaves there salt, which supplies many settlements both in Syria and in Mesopotamia. The annual profit from the salt is estimated at 120,000 *dirhem*. The soil thereabouts is sandy. The inhabitants of al-Ġabbûl are notorious for their laxity in religious matters and their mendacity, quarrelsomeness, and factiousness.

Jâḵût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 839, says, with regard to the Nahr ad-Dahab, that it is identical with the creek Wâdi Buṭnân, which runs by Buzâ'a. This is said to be one of the wonders of the world, since that which thrives on its upper reaches is sold by weight and that which is obtained from the lower reaches by measure. Owing to irrigation, in the upper reaches cotton and other products of the soil are raised with success; farther down the creek empties into a lowland extending over two parasangs in all directions, and, evaporating there, forms salt, which is transported to all parts of Syria and sold by measure.

APPENDIX IX

THE COUNTRY RESIDENCES OF THE OMAYYADS

Concerning the country residences of the Omayyad caliphs I have written at some length in my *Ḳuṣejr 'Amra* (1907), Vol. 1, pp. 119—167. Father Henri Lammens, S. J., treats the same subject in his article *La Bâdia et la Hîra sous les Omayyades* (1910), pp. 91—112, although he contributes nothing new. Inasmuch, however, as he shows there a desire to correct some of my statements or, at least, to alter them, I have thought it incumbent on me once again briefly to outline my ideas on the subject.

The members of the Omayyad family did not like to live in large towns and whenever possible settled in the country. To settle in the country was expressed by the verbal form *tabadda'*, and a country seat was called *bâdiya* or *muntazah* (Abu-l-Farağ, *Aṣṣâni* [Bûlâk, 1285 A. H.], Vol. 6, p. 112; Vol. 8, p. 183; aṭ-Ṭabari, *Ta'rîḥ* [De Goeje], Ser. 2, p. 1784, and *passim*).

SEASONS OF THE CALIPHS' SOJOURNS IN THE COUNTRY

Only in the case of 'Abdalmalek do the Arabic authors specify where a caliph resided at a particular season (*Anṣâb* [Ahlwardt], p. 200). Of the other caliphs and members of the Omayyad family we have no such records. Some of them lived constantly in the country and came to Damascus only for short sojourns, as, for instance, Hišâm and Walid II. Before becoming caliph, Hišâm liked to stay on his estates on the left bank of the Euphrates, either at az-Zejtûne (the classical Zaitha) or at ar-Raḳḳa (Callinicus); but when caliph he selected for his residence the town of ar-Ruṣâfa, where he built himself two manors (aṭ-Ṭabari *op. cit.*, Ser. 2, pp. 1467, 1738).

Walid ibn Jazid ibn 'Abdalmalek moved to the country permanently in the first half of 735 and lived there almost continually until his death in April, 744 (al-Ja'kûbi, *Ta'rîḥ* [Houtsma], Vol. 2, p. 394; Abu-l-Farağ, *op. cit.*, Vol. 6, p. 104; aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 2, pp. 1743, 1796).

Other members of the Omayyad family went to the country, it is said, either in the summer or whenever contagious diseases broke out in Damascus or the other large towns.

The caliph Walid I lived at al-Ḳarjatân and watched the struggle of two Arabs in a pond there (Abu-l-Farağ, *op. cit.*, Vol. 12, pp. 32f.; see above, pp. 99f., note 26). — Arabs, who are not very fond of bathing and particularly abhor cold water, would surely not have gone into the pond in the winter or spring, when the water was still cold.

While sojourning at his country residence, the caliph Suleiman used to amuse himself by night on the roof of his manor — another proof that it was summer (*ibid.*, Vol. 4, p. 61).

Yazid II stayed at Bejt Râs with the singer Habâba. While amusing himself with her, he threw into her open mouth grapes — or, according to

others, pieces of pomegranates —, which Habâba swallowed, until one clogged her windpipe, suffocating her (Ibn al-Aʿtîr, *Kâmil* [Tornberg], Vol. 5, p. 90; Abu-l-Faraġ, *op. cit.*, Vol. 13, p. 165). — The ripe grapes and pomegranates also testify that Yazid dwelt in his residence at Bejt Râs in the summer or early autumn.

Jâkût, *Muġam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 2, p. 784, relates from various sources that the caliph Hišâm preferred to stay at ar-Rušâfa in the summer (*as-sejff*).

Al-Masʿûdi, *Murûġ* (De Meynard and De Courteille), Vol. 6, pp. 5 f., relates that Walid II liked to amuse himself with good friends in the bright moonlight on a knoll of fine sand. — The nights are quite chilly in this region. It is, therefore, unthinkable that he would have amused himself outdoors on winter or spring nights, when everyone shivers with cold, seeking the shelter of the tent and wrapping all one's clothes around one (see my *Arabia Deserta* [1927], pp. 21, 121).

In *Kuṣejr ʿAmra*, Vol. 1, p. 155, I observed that the members of the Omayyad dynasty kept clear of Damascus mainly in summer, as the fever there was then at its height. Ibn Baṭṭûta, *Tuhfa* (Defrémery and Sanguinetti), Vol. 4, p. 320, found that the pestilence gained most ground in Damascus during the summer. Aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 2, p. 1738, relates how the caliphs and their sons used to escape to the country when contagious diseases broke out and how they shunned people. Once upon a time, it is said, somebody pleaded with Hišâm not to leave Damascus for the country, because the caliphs were not subject to contagion, since none of them had ever died of pestilence. But Hišâm would not wait to see if this also applied to his person and went to ar-Rušâfa. Jâkût, *Muġam* (Wüstenfeld), Vol. 2, p. 784, reports that when pestilence had broken out Hišâm built ar-Rušâfa and used to reside there in summer. From other sources we learn that ar-Rušâfa means not only the town but the outlying neighborhood. ʿAbbâs and Yazid, the sons of Walid I, also fled from contagion to the country. ʿAbbâs took quarters in al-Ḳaṣṭal and Yazid not far off. (Aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, p. 1784.)

The caliph al-Mutawakkel of the Abbasside family intended to settle at Damascus for a long period. He went there at the end of May, 858, but did not stay even two months, fleeing to the country for the same reason that the Omayyad caliphs had previously fled. The summer air at Damascus was said to be chilly and moist, the water undrinkable; from 3 P. M. until past midnight a strong wind generally blew, and there were more fleas than at any other known place. Al-Mutawakkel moved from Damascus to ar-Rušâfa (*ibid.*, Ser. 3, p. 1436; al-Bekri, *Muġam* [Wüstenfeld], p. 379; al-Masʿûdi, *op. cit.*, Vol. 7, p. 257). —

The climate of Damascus has not changed at all. The spring months are very pleasant there, but the summer begins early in June and with it the contagious diseases. Because of this, those who are able move to the country. The owners of landed estates almost invariably have a cottage in one of their hamlets, where they live through the entire summer until the first autumn rain. Wealthy people owning no hamlets leave for the Lebanon or Antilebanon, while the ordinary citizens hire such summer quarters in the neighborhood as they find convenient.

In the summer months as at no other time of the year the country about Damascus is full of people and commotion. Towards the end of

June large tribes of Bedouins encamp on the stubble fields south and east of the city, selling their camels and home products and providing themselves with grain and clothing for their sojourn in the inner desert. At the end of August they leave the Damascan district again, and in September not a trace of them remains. The country districts most favored by the caliphs of former times are still preferred as summer residences and camping grounds.

Lammens (*op. cit.*, p. 99, note 5) reproaches me with writing in *Kuṣejr Amra*, Vol. 1, p. 155, that the Omayyads resided in the country also in summer, adding that they could not have selected a worse time for such a purpose and that all the quoted passages clearly show them to have lived there during the winter rains, which Lammens believes the word *rabīʿ* to mean. This reproach shows that Lammens is unfamiliar with the climate and habits of the people of Syria, that he does not understand the Arabic conception of *rabīʿ*, and that he did not even examine carefully the passages on which he bases his reasoning. Abu-l-Faraġ, *op. cit.*, Vol. 10, p. 167, does not mention any sojourn of the Omayyads in the country during the period of the *rabīʿ*. Where he speaks of the *rabīʿ* (*ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 108) he is dealing with the time of Walīd II, who stayed in the country permanently, not only while the *rabīʿ* lasted but also in the *ṣeff*, or summer, and in the other seasons of the year.

Lammens is entirely mistaken in identifying the *rabīʿ* with the winter rains. The *rabīʿ* is the result of the winter rains; therefore it may be said of a district that it has had no *rabīʿ* for two or three years, that it is not prosperous, because it did not receive the necessary amount of rain in all that time. The *rabīʿ* does not set in with the first rain, no matter how heavy that rain may be. It ordinarily begins during the last ten days of February and lasts into May, its end being determined by the date and quantity of the last rain. Its results are apparent through the whole summer and autumn, when the perennials grow and blossom luxuriantly. Furthermore, it is incorrect to say, as Lammens (*op. cit.*, p. 99, note 2) does, that the Rwala go to the inner desert only when the *rabīʿ* is near. They do so at the end of August and even in September, which is from four to five months before the beginning of the *rabīʿ*. Often there is no prosperity, or *rabīʿ*, for several years in succession in the wider environs of Damascus. In 1908–1909, when I was with the Rwala, we looked for the *rabīʿ* from Damascus on the north nearly as far as Tejma on the south and Ḥašm Šennār on the southeast, and yet we did not find it. The Rwala said that there was no *rabīʿ*. It is in this sense that we should interpret Abu-l-Faraġ's remarks (*op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 108; Vol. 6, p. 112) where he states that Walīd II encamped at the wells of Abâ'ir or Ubajr, as the rain had been plentiful there that season and, consequently, the *rabīʿ*, which is the necessary result of the rainfall; he did not encamp there because it was springtime.

Spring, which is a definite season of the year, is synonymous with *rabīʿ* in lands where rain is regular. 'Adi ibn ar-Rikâ' (al-Bekri, *Muġam* [Wüstenfeld], p. 319) is explicit in his statement that Walīd I made his quarters at Ḥunâšira only when good rains brought on the *rabīʿ* there. Abu-l-Faraġ, *op. cit.*, Vol. 7, p. 111, says exactly what the modern Bedouins say: "to a certain region came the *rabīʿ*," meaning prosperity which led a multitude of people to gather there. That the members of

the Omayyad family liked to spend their summers where there had been *rabi'* is easy to understand, but a sojourn of this kind was within the means only of those who owned property or had friends in the rural districts.

Lammens is not correct in asserting (*op. cit.*, p. 100, note 3) that the Arabic reports invariably connect the Omayyads' sojourn in the country with the *rabi'* and the winter rains, meaning by this that it was in the winter months that the caliphs used to live in the *bâdiya*. Not a single one of the passages to which he appeals confirms this. As mentioned above, in Abu-l-Farağ, *op. cit.*, Vol. 10, p. 167, there is no reference to the country residences of the Omayyads. Abu-l-Farağ (*op. cit.*, Vol. 6, p. 113) makes no mention whatever of Yazid II having moved to the country during a *rabi'*. Abu-l-Farağ (*op. cit.*, p. 137) relates that Jazid (Yazid) ibn al-Walid fled to the country from the pestilence then ravaging Damascus. At what time of the year he did this is not stated, but he surely did not return to Damascus as long as the danger lasted. As the passage in Abu-l-Farağ, *op. cit.*, Vol. 8, p. 183, cannot be connected with the *rabi'* in any way, there remain only the passages in Vol. 2, p. 108, and Vol. 6, pp. 112f. In these Walid II is said to have lived in the country *almost continuously* for several years; therefore he must have been there not merely in the winter and spring but in the summer and autumn as well.

How Lammens can write that the Arabic reports clearly state that the Omayyads stayed in the country during the winter rains and can assert that this is the only meaning of the word *rabi'*, I do not understand. But Lammens is not consistent. In his *Études sur le règne du Calife Omayyade Mo'âwia* (1908), p. 244, he differentiates between the country seats used in the spring and those used at the other seasons of the year.

The Omayyads used to leave for the country when it pleased them or when they had to—according to the circumstances—at different times of the year. The chroniclers could not, therefore, note their departure from and return to Damascus with any regularity, and we learn only from occasional remarks that some caliph or prince either moved to the country or returned from there to the capital. Therefore, when Lammens, *Bâdia* (1910), p. 101, writes that the chroniclers speak of the ruler as coming and going regularly, he is in error. Some of the passages he refers to do not mention such movements at all, and others merely state that the caliph, like the other members of reigning family, went to the country or returned whenever necessary, not only in the winter or spring but also at any other season.

LOCATION OF THE COUNTRY RESIDENCES

It is interesting to examine the places favored by the Omayyads for their country residences. The caliphs fully adapted themselves to the local customs and as a rule stayed where previously the kings and princes of the Ghassanian tribe had liked to live. Such places were Ġābija (Ḥamzat al-Iṣfahāni, *Ta'riḥ* [Gottwaldt], p. 120), Ġillīḳ (Ḥassān ibn Tābet, *Diwān* [Tunis, 1281 A.H.], p. 24), Ḥawwārīn (John of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, III, 40), ar-Ruṣāfa (*ibid.*, VI, 4), Ḥammām aṣ-Ṣarrāḥ (Ḥamzat al-Iṣfahāni, *op. cit.*, p. 117), and other places east of al-Belḳa (an-Nābiṛa, Supplement to the *Diwān* [Derenbourg], p. 45; Ḥassān ibn Tābet, *op. cit.*,

p. 101; Ḥamzat al-Iṣfahâni, *loc. cit.*). Ġābija and the other residences of the Ghassanian kings south of Damascus were also dear to the Omayyads; and, like the Omayyads, the head chiefs of the Rwala at the present time camp or live in or near them in summer.

Regarding the residences south of Damascus I shall say nothing, my chief interest being in those to the northeast, east, and southeast of that city. In the immediate vicinity of Damascus I shall mention only Dejr Murrân, the famous monastery, where probably every royal prince was entertained and where the caliph al-Walid I died. The precise location of this monastery is at present unknown. I look for it, however, on the hillock of ar-Rabwe, near which lies a settlement of the same name, four kilometers west-northwest of the city. Between the hillock and the rocky mountains to the west the Barâda river cleaves its way to the blessed plain of Damascus. The road and the railway both run along the bank of the river through the narrow gap. From the hillock there is a delightful view east and southeast over the immense garden of al-Rûṭa, which is irrigated by the river, some canals, and several creeks. To the eastward may be seen the white minarets of Damascus, while to the northwest and west rise the bluish or rose-tinged rocks of the Antilebanon and Mt. Hermon. Of the old monastery no remains can be seen on this hillock. Some enterprising citizen has started a coffeehouse there, in order that the excursionists may enjoy the view while sitting in the shade. With the location of Dejr Murrân as thus stated all the extant records would seem to agree, particularly that of Ibn ar-Râ'i ad-Dimiški (*Barğ* [Codex vindobonensis], fol. 29), who, writing at the end the eighteenth century, asserts that Dejr Murrân lies at the foot of the range of Kâsijûn near the settlement of ar-Rabwe and that there is a splendid view from it over al-Rûṭa. It is said to be an old monastery, of which there remains nothing but a few foundation walls and the name. Below, in the plain, extend beautiful gardens reminding one of paradise.

Yazid I enjoyed staying in Ḥawwârîn very much; there also he died (aṭ-Tabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 2, pp. 203, 427; Abu-l-Farağ, *op. cit.*, Vol. 16, p. 88; al-Mas'ûdi, *Murûğ* [De Meynard and De Courteille], Vol. 5, pp. 126 f.). The location of this place is well known; Lammens, however, in his *Mo'âwia* (1908), pp. 245 f., states that it lies on the border of the great Syrian desert halfway between Damascus and Palmyra, whereas in his *Yazid I^{er}*, (1913), p. 471, he places it two days north of Damascus, between this city and Ḥomṣ. Through Ḥawwârîn no direct road has ever led or now leads from Damascus to either Palmyra or Ḥomṣ. Ḥawwârîn is not situated to the north but to the northeast of Damascus, and the great Syrian desert is at least seventy kilometers away. In his *Mo'âwia* (1908), p. 247 and note 1, Lammens, referring to Abu-l-Farağ, *op. cit.*, Vol. 16, pp. 70 f., says that Yazid while at Ḥawwârîn had musicians come to him from the Heğâz. In the passage to which Lammens refers, however, no mention whatever is made of Ḥawwârîn. Yazid's delight in Ḥawwârîn is attributed by Lammens, *op. cit.*, pp. 263 f., to various causes, among them the fact that Ḥawwârîn is not far from territory once occupied by the Tarleb tribe. Lammens believes that a part of this tribe settled in the desert which lay between Membiğ, ar-Reşâfa, and the Bişr range and thus adjoined on the north the territory of the Kalb and Ghassanian tribes, i. e. the vicinity of Palmyra and Ḥawwârîn. He would thus exclude the Tarleb

from the desert south of the Bišr range (al-Bišri), although, as a matter of fact, this tribe also camped to the south of al-Bišr, even as far as the country about 'Ajn at-Tamr and the Lâha range. Moreover, Palmyra and Hawwârîn lie, not south, but southwest of al-Bišri and ar-Rešâfa. In defining the limits of the Kalb territory Lammens (*op. cit.*, p. 153, note 1) would read in al-Ḳalkašandi, *Ṣubḥ* (Cairo, 1903), Vol. 1, p. 195 (Cairo, 1922, p. 316), Ḥunâšira instead of al-Manâzer. This is taking unjustifiable liberties with the text of al-Ḳalkašandi. Al-Ḳalkašandi copies al-Bekri, *Mu'jam* (Wüstenfeld), p. 18, where it is stated that the Kalb were settled at Manâzer aš-Šâm between al-Belka and Ḥuwwârîn as far as az-Zejtûn. By the word *manâzer* the Arabic writers designated the classical *limes exterior*, i. e. the outer boundaries of the Roman Empire.

Merwân ibn al-Ḥakam occasionally stayed at aš-Šinnabra on the shore of Lake Tiberias near the town of aṭ-Ṭabarije (al-Mas'ûdi, *op. cit.*, Vol. 5, p. 205).

The country seats of the caliph 'Abdalmalek are noted accurately in the anonymous Arabic chronicle *Ansâb* (Ahlwardt), pp. 200 f. In the rainy season he would live at aš-Šinnabra in the administrative district of Urdunn. When the rain abated he would remove to Ġâbiya. His retinue took quarters in the neighborhood, 'Abdalmalek distributing sheep among them at stated intervals. After the few first days of March, he would go to Damascus, where he resided at the Dejr Murrân; but when the summer heat set in he would leave for Baalbek to stay there until the first winds announcing the coming rains began to blow. Then he would return to Damascus and, when the cold increased, move to aš-Šinnabra; here he died. — These precise statements make it evident that 'Abdalmalek shunned Damascus in summer, and we may therefore assume that his predecessors and his successors alike did the same; that is, that they did not live in the country during the rainy season only, but at all times of the year.

Walid I had a country residence at Usejs, as is attested by 'Adi ibn ar-Rikâ' (al-Bekri, *op. cit.*, p. 122; Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 272). Jâkût says that Usejs is a watering place east of Damascus. — Usejs is to be identified with the volcano Tell Sejs, which rises 105 kilometers southeast of Damascus. The classical "Usejs" sounds in the dialect like "Sejs." At the foot of the Tell Sejs is an artificial rain pool and a heap of ruins.

Abu-l-Faraġ, *op. cit.*, Vol. 12, pp. 32 f., relates that Walid I also lived at al-Ḳarjatân, thus north of the Tell Sejs and twenty kilometers southeast of Hawwârîn. The poet 'Adi ibn ar-Rikâ' remarks (al-Bekri, *op. cit.*, pp. 318 f.) that the caliph Walid I after the abundant winter rains moved to Ḥunâširat al-Aḥaṣṣ and that his stay there brought much profit to the people from the surrounding country. — The effects of abundant winter rains in the vicinity of Ḥunâšira (the modern Ḥanâšer, about 40 kilometers south of Aleppo and 185 kilometers nearly due north from al-Hawwârîn) do not appear before April, from which we may conclude that Walid I spent the summer there also.

'Abbâs and Yazid, the sons of Walid I, had their country seats at al-Ḳaṣṭal and in the region near by; al-Ḳaṣṭal was a five days' journey from Damascus (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 2, pp. 1784-1788). — The road from al-Ḳaṣṭal to Damascus led by way of Ġerûd; therefore we must look for this country residence at the ruin of al-Ḳaṣṭal, 95 kilometers northeast of Hawwârîn.

Yazid II often left Damascus for his country seat of al-Mwaḳḳar (Abu-l-Faraġ, *op. cit.*, Vol. 13, p. 160; Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 687). — This residence, which has kept its old name to this day, lies 85 kilometers north-northeast of Ṭûbt al-Râdaf. Lammens, *Bâdia* (1910), p. 103, note 2, found a mention of al-Mwaḳḳar in Abu-l-Faraġ, *op. cit.*, Vol. 13, pp. 165, 166, where, however, I have searched for it in vain. He writes (Lammens, *op. cit.*, p. 108, note 8) that Yazid had various buildings put up around the manor at al-Mwaḳḳar, and refers to Abu-l-Faraġ, *op. cit.*, p. 161; but in this passage the place is not mentioned at all. — The manor of al-Mwaḳḳar must have suffered during the war between ʿAbdallâh ibn ʿAlī, commander of the caliph Abu-l-ʿAbbâs (750–754) and Ḥabīb ibn Murra in al-Belḳa (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 3, pp. 52–56; al-Masʿûdi, *Murûġ* [De Meynard and De Courteille], Vol. 6, p. 76), since the poet Ishâk ibn Muslim al-ʿOġejli sings the praises of the caliph Abu-l-ʿAbbâs, by whose order Ḥomṣ, Bâb at-Tin, al-Mwaḳḳar, and Tadmur were demolished (Abu-l-Faraġ, *op. cit.*, Vol. 18, p. 150). But it could not have been destroyed completely, because either right in it or in the adjoining settlement of the same name there lived a family of which al-Walīd ibn Muḥammad al-Mwaḳḳari, the collector of religious traditions, was a descendant. This al-Walīd died in 894 (Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 687).

Yazid II sometimes also resided in the vicinity of Fudejn, where Saʿīd ibn Ḥâled ibn ʿAmr ibn ʿOṭmân had a manor (Abu-l-Faraġ, *op. cit.*, Vol. 6, pp. 113, 115). This manor I take to be the Kaṣr al-Ḥallâbât, about 25 kilometers south-southeast of the settlement of Fdejn and 45 kilometers north-northeast of al-Mwaḳḳar. Here a small but finely built house must have been inhabited permanently by Moslems. Yazid's country residence was probably identical with the Hammâm aṣ-Ṣarrâḥ, five kilometers south-east of the Kaṣr al-Ḥallâbât, for nowhere do we find any evidence that Yazid II ever lived in company with Saʿīd at the latter's manor. According to Jâkût, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 858f., al-Faddajn is a settlement in the Ḥawrân district. There the Omayyad Saʿīd ibn Ḥâled ibn Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdallâh al-ʿOṭmânî had a castle; but, when he revolted against the caliph al-Ma'mûn (813–833) and an army was sent to punish him, he fled to Ziza. The caliph's troops took the castle and pursued him to Zîza; when this place fell before them, Saʿīd took refuge first in ʿAmmân, then at the settlement of Mâsûḥ, and finally in the strong fort of Ḥesbân. — The castle of this Saʿīd must be identical with the castle of his ancestor Saʿīd and with our Kaṣr al-Ḥallâbât, for neither in the settlement of Fdejn, nor in its immediate vicinity is there any manor or castle.

Abu-l-Faraġ, *op. cit.*, Vol. 13, p. 165, knew of a country seat of Yazid II at Bejt Râs. Certain Arabic writers placed this settlement in the administrative district of Urdunn and others placed it in the territory of Jerusalem. Since, according to some of these writers, Ṭûbt al-Râdaf was likewise located in Urdunn, I hold that we may identify Bejt Râs with the Dât Râs ruins, 110 kilometers southwest of Ṭûbt al-Râdaf. Dât Râs lies in the territory of al-Belḳa, where Yazid II had two favorite seats, al-Mwaḳḳar and Fudejn.

In al-Belḳa, 15 kilometers southwest of al-Mwaḳḳar, stands the large manor of al-Mšatta, which Lammens, *Bâdia* (1910), pp. 102f., would also like to identify as one of the country seats of the Omayyad caliphs. His principal argument for this is its location on the Roman *limes*, where

the Bedouins are said to like to camp in winter; from this circumstance he would derive the name of al-Mšatta from the word *mšattâ* (winter camp), which, he says, is the Bedouin way of pronouncing the correct *maštâ*. This statement, however, shows that Lammens is unfamiliar with the language of the Bedouins, with their customs and practices, and even with the location of the ruins of al-Mšatta.

Not a single tribe of the Bedouins calls a winter camp *mšattâ*; they all pronounce the word distinctly *mašta'* (plural, *mašâti*). It is true that in some dialects *ḡsuba* is pronounced *ḡsubba* and *hbeke* is pronounced *hbekke*; but in these cases the third stem consonant — not the second, as in *mšatta* — is doubled. *Mšattâ* would be considered by every Bedouin the plural of a feminine noun derived from the stem *šatt* in the dialect of the goat and sheep breeders who live southeast and northeast of Damascus, since the latter say "Edra'â" and "Uḡêribâ," (not "Edra'ât" or "Užêribât," as the Bedouins would pronounce these names) and by analogy would say *mšattâ* instead of *mšattât*. In nouns denoting the place of the action of a verb of which the third stem consonant is weak, the prefix never loses its vowel, and therefore the Bedouins say *malḡa'*, *manda'*, *malḡa'*, and, accordingly, *mašta'* — never *mšata'* or *mšatta'* (see my *Arabia Deserta*, p. 408).

Lammens would place the best winter camping grounds of the Bedouins at the watering places on the Roman border. As a matter of fact not a single Bedouin tribe is ever seen wintering along the line of the inner Roman border, or *limes interior*, on which al-Mšatta lies. Even the Beni Ṣaḡr, to whom that territory now belongs, move with their flocks and tents far to the east when the winter approaches, not returning to the vicinity of al-Mšatta before the middle of June, to stay there no later than the end of August. On this account alone al-Mšatta cannot be called a winter camping ground of the Bedouins.

In the time of the Omayyads the whole line of the *limes interior* was settled and cultivated, a fact which surely would have made it impossible for Bedouins and their camels to camp there either in the winter or spring, since they would have ruined the peasants' crops. Then, as now, the Bedouins went there only when the harvest time began, and then, as now, they went deeper and deeper into the country as the work in the fields permitted, their flocks pasturing on the stubble all the way. This is the practice even today of the Palmyrene peasants, who leave their hamlets in winter and drive their flocks to the desert borders to let them graze there as long as the rain water lasts. Not until this dries up do they return into Palmyrena.

Every native knows that during the winter months there are not many wild animals either in Palmyrena or Moab, since they withdraw at this time far into the desert and do not return thence to the former inner border of the Roman Empire until some time in June or July. In the time of the Omayyads the situation was certainly no different from what it is now; consequently, when the caliphs wanted to amuse themselves by hunting in their country seats, they would have had to remain there during the summer and autumn.

WALĪD II'S COUNTRY RESIDENCES

Yazid's son, Walīd II, also grew fond of the eastern border of the al-Belḡa district. Having accompanied his father there frequently, he had made many acquaintances and friends in the region. He therefore retired thither when he noticed with what disfavor Hišām looked upon his staying in ar-Reṣāfa or its neighborhood. Aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 2, p. 1743, and Abu-l-Faraġ, *op. cit.*, Vol. 6, p. 104, relate that Walīd moved to al-Azraḡ between the territories of the Balḡejn and Fezāra tribes and settled at the watering place of al-Aṛdaf. Elsewhere (*ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 79) Abu-l-Faraġ calls these waters al-Ṛadaf. Ibn al-Aṭīr, *Kāmil* (Tornberg), Vol. 5, p. 198, records that Walīd made his quarters at al-Azraḡ near a watering place that belonged to him in the administrative district of Urdunn. In the work cited, Vol. 5, p. 217, Ibn al-Aṭīr writes that Walīd lived at al-Aṛdaf in the 'Ammān district. — These and other reports suggest that by al-Azraḡ and 'Ammān was meant the same district and indicate the location of the water of al-Aṛdaf or al-Ṛadaf. This fact, however, does not exclude Walīd II's periodical visits either to the town of 'Ammān or to the settlement of al-Azraḡ. But that Walīd II had been particularly fond of al-Azraḡ, as Lammens, *Bādia* (1910), p. 103, asserts, cannot be proved, since no incident from Walīd II's stay at al-Azraḡ is mentioned in any known source.

Since Walīd II used to sojourn at al-Ṛadaf and since he fled for his life from his residence there (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 2, pp. 1795f.), we may assume that al-Ṛadaf was the place where he had the building erected which is recorded by Abu-l-Faraġ (*op. cit.*, Vol. 6, p. 136). This building was probably identical with the town mentioned by Severus ibn al-Muḡaffa', *Sijar* (Seybold), pp. 163f. Severus writes that in the desert 15 miles from the nearest water al-Walīd began to build a town called after him. He brought people from everywhere and ordered them to hurry the work of construction. Although a thousand camels were employed to bring water for the workers, they could not carry enough even for one day, and many workers died of thirst. The camels were divided in two groups: a group of six hundred brought water one day, another group of four hundred brought it the next. Al-Walīd was assailed by a certain Ibrāhīm, who killed him. —

In al-Ṛadaf there are ruins of a large unfinished building, which might easily have been mistaken for a town (see my *Ḳuṣejr 'Amra*, pp. 14-16 and Figs. 7-14, 93-101). The water may have been brought from the now caved-in wells Rādīr ad-Dīb, 23 kilometers east-northeast of al-Ṛadaf. There is another unfinished building at al-Mšatta, but its location in a tilled region — within about 10 kilometers of a supply of spring water — does not tally with Severus' report.

According to aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 2, p. 1796, Walīd II on his march from his country seat to al-Baḡra (al-Bḡara) reached the Šabakat ad-Ḍaḡḡāk. This plain of ad-Ḍaḡḡāk is identical with the *šbečet* or *fejzat* of aḡ-Žāḡčijje, the position of which shows that Walīd II's country seat must have been to the southwest of it and therefore not at al-Azraḡ but at what is now the demolished and partly unfinished manor of Ṭūbt al-Ṛadaf. Ṭūbt al-Ṛadaf is identical with the classical al-Aṛdaf.

Aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, p. 1754, writes that Walid II entertained the pilgrims and warriors at the station of Ziza on the old transport road from southwestern Arabia to Damascus. Possibly he sojourned there periodically. Once in a while he also stopped at the manor of his father-in-law, Sa'īd, at Fudejn (Abu-l-Farağ, *op. cit.*, Vol. 6, pp. 113, 115); but he seldom stayed there long. Lammens, *Mo'âwia* (1908), p. 246, places Fudejn and al-Azrağ in the old Moab territory, where they never belonged. According to Abu-l-Farağ, *op. cit.*, Vol. 6, p. 113, we might believe that Kaṣṭal was Walid II's residence, but it is hard to say whether it was the Kaṣṭal 95 kilometers northwest of Ṭūbt al-Radaf or al-Kaṣṭal, the country seat of his relative and friend 'Abbās, 70 kilometers northwest of Palmyra.

Sometimes after good rains or in the time of *rabī'* Walid II stayed at Abâ'ir (Abu-l-Farağ, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 108; here Abâ'in is erroneously printed, an error to which I have already called attention in *Kuṣejr 'Amra*, Vol. 1, p. 157, note 335). There I also look for the *muntazah* (country seat), another place favored by Walid II in the *rabī'* (Abu-l-Farağ, *op. cit.*, Vol. 6, p. 112). He was visited there in 743 by a poet from the Ḥeğâz. Abâ'ir may be identified with Ubajr in the territory of the Beni al-Ḳejn (*ibid.*, Vol. 11, p. 87) and with the modern Bâjer, 70 kilometers east-southeast of Ṭūbt al-Radaf. It is situated on the transport and pilgrim road from al-Medīna by way of Tejma to Syria, the road which was surely taken by the poet when he went to pay his respects to Walid II (see my *Arabia Deserta*, pp. 324 f. and note 76).

Lammens, *Bâdia* (1910), p. 102, note 7, regards Abâ'ir as a fort on the Roman *limes*. He does not give any reasons for this assumption; nor is it possible to find any, because the *limes interior* lay 120 kilometers west and the *limes exterior* 240 kilometers east of Abâ'ir, the modern Bâjer. Lammens, *op. cit.*, p. 108, also identifies one of the country residences of Walid II with the Kaṣr al-Abjaḍ at ar-Ruḥba, but not a single source mentions that Walid II ever lived there.

The country seat of an-Nağrâ' recorded by Lammens, *loc. cit.*, is due to a false rendering of the name of the known settlement al-Baḥra (al-Bhara) where Walid II was visited by several personages (Abu-l-Farağ, *op. cit.*, Vol. 5, pp. 143, 168) and was later killed and buried (al-Mas'ûdi, *op. cit.*, Vol. 6, p. 2; in Ibn Kotejba, *Ma'ârif* [Wüstenfeld], pp. 182, 186, the name is erroneously spelled al-Baḥra'). Al-Bekri, *op. cit.*, p. 141, writes that al-Baḥra' is the name of a ground in Syria, so called owing to the bad smells coming from a cemetery there. — This shows that the Arabic *al-baḥra'* (the stinking) is merely a descriptive term and not the real name of this settlement; it is also interesting to note that the settlement was still known as late as the eleventh century. To bad smells the Bedouins are very sensitive, believing them to have an injurious effect on many people. Moreover, at al-Baḥra there is a large cemetery. When I was there at the end of 1908 it was still untouched, but in the first part of 1912 all the graves had been opened and plundered and the bones scattered about. Goaria, the original name of al-Baḥra', survived only in classical and Syriac literatures (see above, p. 143, note 37). The Arabs perhaps at first said "Goaria al-Baḥra'," but in the course of time "Goaria" was dropped and only "al-Baḥra'" remained — a process met with quite frequently in the Arabic terminology. A plausible reason for the disappearance of the name Goaria may be the erection

of a fort there by the Persians (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 2, p. 1796), who undoubtedly gave it a Persian name; but the Arabs did not call it by its Persian name. No'mân ibn Bašîr, a faithful follower of the caliphs Othman, Moawiyah, and Yazid I, had a manor inside the fort of al-Baḥra' (*ibid.*, p. 1796; Abu-l-Faraġ, *op. cit.*, Vol. 14, pp. 119 ff.; an-Nawawi, *Tahdîb* [Wüstenfeld], Vol. 2, pp. 596 f.).

Al-Bekrî, *Muġam* (Wüstenfeld), p. 362, records the merry drinking bouts of Walid II with his brother Ṭamr at Dejr Murrân. Abu-l-Faraġ, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 112, substitutes Muḥammad, the son of the caliph Suleiman, for Ṭamr and makes a monastery near ar-Ramle in Palestine the scene of the revelry.

Occasionally Walid II also visited ar-Reṣâfa, where he arranged horse races (al-Mas'ûdî, *op. cit.*, Vol. 6, p. 14).

All the Omayyad country seats lying southeast, east, or northeast of Damascus may be located with accuracy. It is evident that not a single one of them was in the desert proper, some being in the cultivated territory and some on its borders. Lammens, *Bâdia* (1910), p. 100, is mistaken, therefore, when he says that "the real Arabs, and consequently the Omayyads," settled at different points in the Syrian desert. Lammens (*ibid.*, p. 91, note 1) places Ḥunâšira, al-Ġâbiya, and Ḥuwwârîn in the desert. Ibn 'Asâkir, *Ta'riḥ* (Codex berolinensis), fols. 56 v. f., writes more correctly that Ġâbiya lies in the cultivated district of Jordan (Sawâd al-Urdunn). The whole vicinity of Ġâbiya has always been cultivated and settled. Ḥunâšira is located amidst hundreds upon hundreds of ruined or rebuilt and repopled villages in Palmyrena; and the same is true of Ḥawwârîn. Where these country seats are situated, there never has been, there is not now, and there probably never will be a desert. Only Abâ'ir and al-Aṛdaf, the Bâjer and the Ṭûbt al-Radaf of today, can we place in the desert, but even on every side of these places there are remains of human dwellings; and aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 2, p. 1796, says explicitly that al-Aṛdaf lies in *riḥ* — that is, in country which may be cultivated or where there are at least abundant pastures all the year round. Likewise the neighborhood of the country seat of al-Baḥra might be cultivated, although farther south and east there prevailed in the time of the Omayyads, as now, an inhospitable desert.

DETAILS OF CONSTRUCTION

In what manner were the Omayyads housed in their country seats? I have already explained in *Kuṣejr 'Amra*, Vol. 1, p. 144, that they at first lived in tents, as is shown by records preserved in Abu-l-Faraġ's *Kitâb al-Arâni* and elsewhere, where their dwellings are referred to by the Bedouin word *bejt* (tent). In a tent lived Walid I (Abu-l-Faraġ, *op. cit.*, Vol. 8, p. 183); in a tent died 'Omar II (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 2, p. 1372; Abu-l-Faraġ, *op. cit.*, Vol. 8, p. 158). Hišâm sometimes resided in tents which he had moved from one place to another (*ibid.*, Vol. 2, pp. 35 f.). Walid II used to amuse himself in a tent, and mention is made of its back wall (*riwâḳ*) and its front wall (*surâdiḳ*) (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 2, pp. 1819 f.). At another time he had both the walls and the floor of his tent decorated with Armenian carpets (Abu-l-Faraġ, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 27; Vol. 5, p. 173).

As is apparent from the foregoing discussions, however, the caliphs while in the country also lived in solid buildings, which they called *kaṣr* or *dār*. These words are synonymous (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 2, pp. 1799f.). 'Omar II, during his stay at Ḥunāṣira, received his subjects in a chamber (al-Mas'ūdi, *op. cit.*, Vol. 5, p. 434). The gate leading to the manor of of Walid II could be opened and closed by pulling a metal ring hanging from it (Abu-l-Farağ, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 173). Of course, this does not mean that such a solid building, or manor, was never surrounded by tents. When the kings of the Ghassanian tribe resided at Ġābiḡa, the retinue surely put up their black tents about the manor. The royal residence then consisted of a permanent building, or manor, and of movable tents, as explained in *Kuṣejr 'Amra*, Vol. 1, pp. 145 ff. When the Ghassanian kings visited one of the Roman border forts, they lodged with the Byzantine commander, and their followers pitched their black tents outside the walls. In their numerous buildings the Ghassanian as well as the Laḥm kings imitated the manors and forts of the Romans and Persians (*ibid.*, p. 147). In this way originated their fortified camps (*ḥīra*; or, as the Syriac writers called them, *ḥērtā'*). Al-Ḥīra, the chief residence of the Laḥm kings, consisted, according to reliable Arabic sources, of various permanent houses or manors. Not far away the kings had the separate manors of al-Ḥawarnak and as-Sadīr. In the winter and spring these kings used to camp far within the desert; but in the early summer they would return to al-Ḥīra. There they occupied one of the manors (*kaṣr*) while their tribes pitched their tents on the sterile plain west of al-Ḥīra. Thus we see that the capital of the Laḥm kings as well as their encampments were formed both of permanent buildings and of movable tents. Abu-l-Farağ, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 35f., records the same about the caliph Hiṣām, who likewise lived in a manor or castle (*kaṣr*) while his retinue lived in tents. Often, too, he would settle down with his relatives in a stately tent, to return to his manor a short time after. Walid II had a well built house at his country seat, which he would occasionally abandon for his tent (*ibid.*, Vol. 8, p. 183).

The country seats of Hiṣām and Walid II were apparently arranged in the same style as those of the Ghassanian and Laḥm kings and were invariably called *ḥērtā'* by the Syriac authors. On the other hand, the Arabic writers use the word *ḥīra* almost exclusively to mean the capital, al-Ḥīra; while for the country seats of the Omayyad caliphs they seem to have no other term than *'askar*. Evidently the Persian word *'askar* must have had the same meaning for the Arabic writers as the Aramaic *ḥērtā'* or *ḥīra*, designating sometimes a camp of movable tents and sometimes an encampment of tents and solid buildings combined. Thus aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 2, pp. 1819-1823, speaks of Walid II as living in a tent and yet refers to his *'askar*. Abu-l-Farağ, *op. cit.*, Vol. 6, p. 136, relates that Walid II had a building erected in his camp (*'askar*), which goes to show that the camp consisted of both movable tents and this solid building.

The caliph Suleiman lived in the country and one night amused himself on the roof of his residence near his *'askar* (Abu-l-Farağ, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 61.). Abu-l-Farağ (*ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 19) knew of a *'askar* of Walid's, part of which was formed by the *dār*. The latter word cannot, therefore, be synonymous with *'askar*, as is the opinion of Lammens, *Bādiā* (1910), p. 108, note 5. *Dār* signifies a large building with a yard,

just as does *kaṣr*, for which *dār* is often substituted (Aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 2, pp. 1734, 1899 f.).

If we read the Syriac annals of the Ghassanian kings, we find that what the Arabic writers say of the 'askar, the Syrians claim for the *hêrta'* or *hîra*. Such a *hîra* or *hêrta'* camp might be broken up or burned (John of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, IV, 22 and 36; VI, 18; Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* [Chabot], Vol. 4, p. 357).

In order to elude the numerous visitors, the Omayyads preferred the country to the large towns. But even in the country they did not escape unwelcome guests, and nothing was left for them but to act the part of the host. The true Bedouin knows of no separate house or tent for the guest, as do the settlers or goat and sheep raisers who roam along the borders of the cultivated territory. A Bedouin taking his guest to another's or to the common tent would "blacken his face," as their saying is. Every tent affords hospitality, but the chief's, of course, most of all. It is not true, as Lammens, *Mo'âwia* (1906), p. 101, writes, that in accordance with the customs of the desert every sheikh, even the poorest, has an extra tent reserved for the guests (*maḍâfe*). The Omayyads were not Bedouins, but descendants of settlers from Mecca, who put up separate lodgments at their country seats in order to avoid personal hospitality. Lammens, *Bâdia* (1910), p. 108, insists that these lodging places, or hostels, were not tents but permanent buildings with walls. As proof he points to Abu-l-Farağ, *op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 174, but no mention whatever is made of a hostel in this passage. Only in Abu-l-Farağ, *op. cit.*, Vol. 5, p. 173, do we find a brief remark that Walid II dwelt in a tent (*bejt*), the entire furnishings of which he presented to a companion of his gaiety. The word *bejt* in this passage surely means a goat's-hair tent (*bejt aš-ša'ar*), because Walid II was then out hunting. Aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 2, pp. 1819 f., to whom Lammens also refers, says distinctly that Walid II lived in a tent (*bejt*) with a *riwâk* (back wall) and *surâḍik* (front wall). In Abu-l-Farağ, *op. cit.*, Vol. 6, p. 133, only *dâr aḍ-ḍijâfe* is spoken of, referring, I believe, to a lodging place built on the Pilgrim Road at Zîza.

The manors which the Laḥm kings occupied were decorated with pictures closely resembling those at Kuṣejr 'Amra. Aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 1, p. 857, relates how the Persian prince Bahrâm rode out on horseback to hunt wild asses. Having shot one, he started in pursuit of it, when he sighted a lion leaping at another ass and tearing its neck. Without losing a moment, Bahrâm fired a shot into the beast's back and killed it. Afterwards he had this incident memorialized by a painting of it on the wall of his room in the manor where he was then living.

Aṭ-Ta'âlibi, *Rurâr* (Zotenberg), pp. 542—544, says of this prince Bahrâm that at another time he went hunting, seated on a thoroughbred she-camel. A woman musician was sitting behind him; he also had in his bag a skin of wine and a golden goblet. The musician played and he drank. Suddenly he saw a herd of gazelles. With one shot he took off both horns of a buck; into the forehead of one doe he sent two arrows, which then looked like horns, and with the third arrow he nailed to her head the leg with which she was scratching herself. King al-Mundir had a picture painted in a room of his manor at al-Ḥawarnaḡ showing Bahrâm riding out with the musician to hunt and all that happened there. The incident of the lion just leaping on the wild ass he likewise had immortalized by a wall painting.

The habits of the Laḥm kings were undoubtedly the same as those of the Ghassanians and were imitated by the Omayyads, who likewise had the rooms of their country seats decorated with pictures. In the Kuṣejr 'Amra there are still preserved various scenes from the chase, and the picture on the south wall of the first chamber showing a lion attacking a wild ass will never leave my memory. Probably it was painted by the order of Walid II, as were the pictures of several mighty rulers, — among them, Roderik (Roderick), the last of the Visigothic kings of Spain — who were all conquered by Walid's ancestors. Prince Bahrâm did not fear a lion; the ancestors of Walid II feared neither Bahrâm's descendants nor any other kings.

WALID II'S FLIGHT FROM AL-ṬADAF TO AL-BAḤRA'

When Walid II gazed at the pictures in the Kuṣejr 'Amra or went to the depression of Sirḥân himself to kill lions and wild asses, he scarcely thought it was Allâh's will that he also should some day flee from his country seats like a hunted animal and that he, too, was destined to die from a wound in his back, as did the lion slain by Bahrâm. Yazid, the son of Walid I, rebelled against him and, winning followers at Damascus, had himself proclaimed Caliph Yazid III and prepared to crush his cousin. Aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 2, pp. 1791f., records that Jazîd (Yazid) ibn al-Walîd collected auxiliary troops from various settlements and tribes in the country about Damascus, even from as far as Ġeraš. This makes it evident that the territory west of Leġa' and the Ḥawrân must have been thickly dotted with the antagonists of Walid II. Only the inhabitants of Ḥomṣ, Tadmur, and some other settlements east and north-east of the Ḥawrân and Damascus remained faithful to him.

The rebels must have understood the necessity of getting Walid II into their power before he could unite with his adherents. They also must have known that it would be impossible to surprise him. While they were assembling on Damascus from Ġeraš and the other settlements, anyone might easily have made a detour to give Walid warning, either out of good will for his father or in the expectation of a reward. From Ġeraš to al-Ṭadaf (or al-Aṛdaf), where Walid II was then living, the distance is even shorter than from Ġeraš to Damascus. The rebels from Ġeraš, however, went to Damascus, a distance of 140 kilometers. If they had started thence against Walid, marching back along the western base of the Ḥawrân, they would have had to retrace the road by which they came and to cover 280 kilometers. Thus the report of their expedition would have spread quickly and the possibility of surprising Walid would have been out of the question. Besides this, Walid's adherents would have had time to join him, something the rebels could not have prevented. All this shows, therefore, that the military enterprises must necessarily have been to the east and not to the south of Damascus. In this opinion we are supported by the Arabic chroniclers, particularly aṭ-Ṭabari, who records two principal reports of these events.

First Version of aṭ-Ṭabari

Aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 2, pp. 1795f., writes that at the outbreak of the rebellion Walid II was staying at al-Aṛdaf in the administrative

district of 'Ammân, where the news was brought him by one of his clients on horseback. The first step which he took was to send Abu Muḥammad of the family of Yazid I to Damascus. The latter went as far as Danaba and from there opened negotiations with the new caliph, Yazid III. —

The location of Walid's country seat is known to us; it is the Tûbt al-Ṛadaf of today, whence two roads led to Damascus, one west of the Ḥawrân and along the border of the volcanic region al-Leḡa'. Which of these did Abu Muḥammad take? He must have known that the settlements west of the Ḥawrân and south of Damascus had declared for Yazid III and that it would be highly dangerous for an envoy of a deposed caliph to travel among these settlements for as long a time as from four to six days. Now, if he wished to escape this danger and complete his errand, all that he could do was to select the eastern road, which was both safer and shorter. As he was descended from Yazid I, the friends and retainers of his family were all to the east of Damascus, where he could, moreover, meet with the auxiliary troops of Walid's adherents from Ḥomṣ and Tadmur. Therefore he undoubtedly decided for the eastern road, which goes past al-Wusād, Burku', and al-Ḥadâli. That he took this road is evident from the report that he stopped at the settlement of Danaba.

The Arabic writers knew of two Danabas in central Syria: one in al-Belḡa, the other near Damascus. The first is logically excluded from our consideration. Walid II himself lived in al-Belḡa, which makes it highly improbable that his messenger would have stopped somewhere near, when he was expressly ordered to go to Damascus. For this reason we may safely assume that Abu Muḥammad halted at the settlement of Danaba in the neighborhood of Damascus. This Danaba according to classical reports lay on the road from Damascus to Palmyra and may be identified with the present al-Baṣîri ruins. (See above, p. 129, note 34, and p. 241.) As the distances thence to Damascus, Ḥomṣ, and Tadmur are about the same, Abu Muḥammad could have negotiated from there equally well with all three towns named. It is very unlikely that Walid II would have sent him merely to Damascus, since he could not have been ignorant of the fact that Damascus was occupied by his enemies and that he could expect no help from there. Nor could he have failed to understand that his adherents were at Ḥomṣ and other towns of northern Syria. For this reason, Abu Muḥammad's destination could not have been Damascus but the country to the east and north of this city, his object being to come into contact with Walid's friends in that region. For this purpose the location of Danaba was eminently suitable. But, on learning where the envoy had stopped, the new caliph, Yazid III, who had watched Walid's every move, sent one of his confidants to Danaba and won Abu Muḥammad over to his side.

As soon as the report of Abu Muḥammad's treachery reached Walid's camp, some of his courtiers pressed him to leave al-Aṛdaf at once (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 2, pp. 1795 f.; Ibn al-Aṭîr, *Kâmil* [Tornberg], Vol. 5, pp. 215 f.). Others objected to this, asserting that it would be beneath the caliph's dignity to desert his camp and women and flee without a fight. Some, again, were of the opinion that there need be no anxiety for the women, since they were related to the commander whom Yazid III had sent against him. And as safe places of refuge they named Ḥomṣ, Tadmur, al-Ḳerje, al-Hazîm, and al-Baḡra'. —

Al-Hazîm and al-Baĥra' lie 25 kilometers south of Tudmor, where also al-Ķerje is to be sought. In my opinion the name al-Ķerje originated in a false rendering of the word al-Furej, which another record (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 2, p. 1803) places near al-Baĥra' without mentioning al-Ķerje at all.

Walîd II, who could not decide where he wanted to go, left al-Aṛḍaf with a small retinue and took the as-Samâwa road towards the plain, Šabakat aḍ-Ḍaĥĥâk. Later on he resolved to go neither to Ĥomṣ nor Tadmur, but to the strong fort of al-Baĥra', which the Persians had built. Here he finally encamped in spite of his fear of catching the pestilence. The location of al-Baĥra' we know, as well as that of al-Aṛḍaf. The report, which says that Walîd II fled along the as-Samâwa road, indicates that he followed the eastern foot of the Hawrân range. Further evidence of this is the fact that the Šabakat aḍ-Ḍaĥĥâk was crossed by him. The Šabakat aḍ-Ḍaĥĥâk, as we have explained above, is identical with the modern *šabaket* or *fejzat* of az-Zâĥĥijje in the depression of Sirĥân fifty kilometers northeast of Ṭûbt al-Ṛadaf. Across the Šabakat aḍ-Ḍaĥĥâk a road to Damascus and Ĥomṣ has always led from the south. This would seem to indicate that Walîd had at first meant to go to Ĥomṣ and only later decided in favor of al-Baĥra'.

In supreme command over the troops sent against Walîd Yazîd III placed his relative 'Abdal'azîz ibn al-Ĥaġġâġ ibn 'Abdalmalek. For the rallying point of the detachments a place called Danaba was chosen, where 1200 men reported for duty (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 2, p. 1797; Abu-l-Faraġ, *op. cit.*, Vol. 6, pp. 138f.). The next meeting place was at the artificial reservoir of the 'Abdal'azîz ibn al-Walîd family, where 800 men soon appeared. From this place the now united army, led by the commander-in-chief, continued on its march, met a caravan with Walîd's baggage, which they captured, and then encamped not far from him. —

This report makes it evident that the troops sent against Walîd were in no particular haste, as is also confirmed by al-Ja'kûbi, *Ta'riĥ* (Houtsma), Vol. 2, p. 400. For the rallying places of Danaba and the reservoir of the 'Abdal'azîz family we cannot look either west or south of the Hawrân, because, if the rebels had assembled in those directions, Walîd II would have had time enough to flee to Ĥomṣ by routes east of the Hawrân and al-Leġa' and be joined there by his men. 'Abdal'azîz could not have overtaken him, since the Hawrân range and the volcanic region of al-Leġa' would have considerably reduced the speed of the pursuers.

'Abdal'azîz knew well that Walîd would not flee either to southern Syria or to Palestine, where he had no friends, but would seek to enter northern Syria and defend himself in the fortified Ĥomṣ. Thus it was 'Abdal'azîz's duty to prevent Walîd's flight to northern Syria by marching eastwards, not southwards, from Damascus. Hence we should look for the rallying places of Danaba and the reservoir of the 'Abdal'azîz family to the east of Damascus. We may, therefore, identify the meeting place of Danaba with the settlement of Danaba where Walîd II had been betrayed by his envoy Abu Muĥammad and with the present al-Bašîri ruins. The Danaba located in al-Belġa is not to be thought of, since troops would not have assembled 180 kilometers south of Damascus right in the immediate vicinity of an enemy whom they wished to surprise.

The reservoir of the 'Abdal'azîz family may likewise be sought only to the east of Damascus. 'Abdal'azîz was the son of Walîd I, and all the Arabic annalists agree that this caliph, when he wished to enjoy his summers, liked best of all the rural districts east and northeast of Damascus. Not one of the sources mentions any country seat or estate of his in al-Belka or south of the Hawrân. He liked to reside at al-Ḳarjatân and Usejs, where he possessed large estates and had many reservoirs built (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 2, p. 1272). Therefore I look for the reservoir of his son 'Abdal'azîz in the vicinity of the last-named residences and, more particularly, to the east or south of al-Baṣîri (Danaba). Furthermore, since the rebels appear to have collected at al-Baṣîri and in its neighborhood, it becomes clear to us why Walîd II decided during his march north from the Šabakat aḍ-Ḍaḥḥâk not to go on to Ḥomṣ but to make for al-Baḥra'. In going to Ḥomṣ he would have had to pass either right through Danaba or close to the west of it, thus running the risk of being surrounded by his enemies before he could be joined by his friends.

The northern position of the two meeting places is also confirmed by the statement that Walîd II's pack caravan encountered the troops sent against him. If these troops had marched from Damascus to al-Belka by the western route, they surely would have plundered Walîd's country seat and overtaken his caravan from the south. But there is no report stating that Walîd's camp was plundered by the rebel troops prior to his death. This shows that the rebels could not have gone to al-Belka at all and that they could not have pursued Walîd II from the south, but must have come from the west. The pack caravan was encountered by them somewhere between the reservoir of the 'Abdal'azîz family and al-Baḥra', because immediately after this incident they encamped in front of that stronghold. All this proves that Walîd II must have fled north-northeast from al-Radaf, that the rebels must have wished to block his way from Damascus to the east-northeast, and that they finally met at al-Baḥra', 200 kilometers from Damascus and 380 kilometers from Ṭûṭ al-Radaf.

Before al-Baḥra' there now began the combats between individual adherents of Walîd II and individual rebels. Both sides learned that 'Abbâs ibn al-Walîd I was coming with a troop of armed men to help Walîd II. To counteract this the commander-in-chief of the rebels sent out a larger troop of riders, who surprised 'Abbâs with his sons at aš-Še'eb and captured them. (Aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, pp. 1798, 1803.) — From where was al-'Abbâs marching? When the revolt began he was living at his country seat of al-Ḳaṣṭal, about ninety kilometers north-northwest of al-Baḥra'. This entitles us to the belief that in his effort to help Walîd II he started from this point. We may therefore look for aš-Še'eb between al-Ḳaṣṭal and al-Baḥra', probably nearer the latter. The name aš-Še'eb I do not know anywhere in that part of the country. To connect this aš-Še'eb with the range Še'eb al-Lôz is impossible, since the latter lies too far west and is too extensive. On leaving al-Ḳaṣṭal, al-'Abbâs undoubtedly took the transport road that goes southeast as far as the plain spreading southwest of Tudmor; then he crossed the southern mountain chain with his sons, waited at aš-Še'eb for the rest of his troops, and sent word to Walîd II that he was coming. Since both he and his sons rode on horseback, there must have been a watering place at aš-Še'eb. This would lead

us to look for it at the wells in the flats near the Želib al-Kṣejbe, or at aš-Šağara, north-northeast of al-Baħra'.

The captured 'Abbās was led before al-Baħra' and compelled to join the new caliph, Yazid III. His submission was followed by that of many other adherents of Walid, to whom nothing else was then left but to shut himself up in the fort of al-Baħra'. The rebels ascended the walls, broke into Walid's apartment while he was reading the Koran, and killed him (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, pp. 1799 f.).

Second Version of aṭ-Ṭabari

According to another account of these events originating with a man who met the fleeing caliph at the wells of al-Lu'lu'a, Walid rode from this place to al-Malika, where he spent the night (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 2, pp. 1801—1807). There he was told by a messenger that five hundred cavalry were pressing on to his aid from Ḥomṣ and were just then encamped at al-Ruwejr. Walid now sent a Bedouin to al-Ruwejr to urge these reinforcements to the utmost speed in order to meet him at al-Malika. He himself marched out in the morning, several troops of his followers having joined him in the meantime. When he entered Tel'et al-Muṣbihe, he was overtaken by the auxiliary troop from Ḥomṣ, accompanied by which he entered al-Baħra'. Since his soldiers grumbled that they had no feed for their animals, Walid, to appease them, wished to buy standing grain from the inhabitants, but the soldiers refused green feed and demanded money. —

These statements are very interesting, since the informant must have been thoroughly familiar with the topography of the al-Baħra' district. Unfortunately, he mentions only the last two places where Walid II slept on his flight from al-Ardaf, while of the places between Šabakat aḍ-Ḍaḥḥāk and al-Lu'lu'a, at which the fugitive also spent nights, he gives us no clue. The position of al-Baħra' is known. Twenty-five kilometers south-southwest from there is a heap of ruins called al-Mlêke, the al-Malika of the report; and 27 kilometers south-southwest of al-Mlêke, again, are the wells of al-'Elejjânijje. Al-Lu'lu'a is often mentioned in history, always as lying on the northern borders of the territory of as-Samâwa south or southwest of Tadmur. Since it follows from this that we must seek al-Lu'lu'a only to the west or southwest of al-Mlêke, and since Walid II scarcely could have made more than thirty kilometers a day, we may — or, rather, must — identify al-Lu'lu'a with al-'Elejjânijje, a watering-place which the Bedouins hold in high esteem even today.

From al-Lu'lu'a Walid despatched a fast courier to the watering place of al-Ruwejr, where the auxiliary troop from Ḥomṣ was then camping. I have tried above (pp. 255—259) to prove that for various reasons the old al-Ruwejr may be identified with the modern al-Bârde, about fifty-five kilometers west of al-Mlêke on the easiest road leading from Ḥomṣ into the desert. As the one day's march of 25 to 30 kilometers from al-Lu'lu'a was probably made by Walid II — as is still the practice today — without a stop, he may have reached al-Mlêke soon after noon. If the courier had started on a good horse at two o'clock, he could have been at al-Ruwejr (al-Bârde) before midnight; and, as his orders were to urge the auxiliary troop to the greatest haste, he must have had

to hurry; and hurry he could, as the terrain through which his way led offered no obstacles. The soldiers from Ḥomṣ did not, however, join Walid at al-Mlêke, as he had ordered, but only just before his arrival at al-Baḥra'; thus they had more than twelve hours in which to cover the 65 kilometers from al-Ruwejr. Tel'et al-Mušbihe is probably one of the smaller valleys originating in the Ṣwêwînt aš-Šhaba.

No sooner did Walid II encamp in the fortified camp (*foṣṭât*) at al-Baḥra' than the report was brought him that the rebels had reached al-Lu'lu'a, and, soon after, al-Malika. Their leader, 'Abdal'azîz ibn al-Ḥaġġâġ, sent out a troop under the command of Maṣṣûr ibn Ġamhûr with the order to take the Nihja road running to al-Baḥra' east of the high, isolated hillock Tell al-Kurej. On the way Maṣṣûr met Walid's messenger to 'Abbâs (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 2, pp. 1803 f.; Abu-l-Faraġ, *op. cit.*, Vol. 6, pp. 138 f.). He did not make him prisoner but sent word by him to 'Abbâs that the latter, if he wanted to save his life, must not move from his post before the appearance of the morning star; after that he could go where he pleased. When the morning star appeared, 'Abdal'azîz with his rebels came before al-Baḥra', and after sunrise a fight ensued, resulting in a loss of sixty of Walid's party. In the meantime Maṣṣûr also had arrived by the Nihja road and attacked Walid from behind; but he was repulsed and had to reunite with 'Abdal'azîz. Not until then did 'Abbâs approach, but his joining Walid was prevented by the rebels. Walid would have liked to gain 'Abdal'azîz and his rebels over to his own side by promising him money and a governor's position — but in vain. After this rebuff Walid took refuge in the castle (*kaṣr*) of al-Baḥra', the only gate of which was barred simply by a chain. Under this chain some of his enemies crawled inside; others leaped from their horses up the wall from where they abused Walid vilely. Walid then tried to leave the castle by the gate in order to put himself under 'Abdal'azîz's protection; but he was killed and his body mutilated. —

This report differentiates between the fortified camp at al-Baḥra' (*foṣṭât*), in which Walid and his men at first encamped, and the castle (*kaṣr*). The *foṣṭât* lay near the settlement; inside of the *foṣṭât* the *kaṣr* was built. This shows that the *kaṣr* or *dâr*, together with the *foṣṭât*, formed a whole, of which the *kaṣr* was the strongest part.

Walid II took refuge in the *foṣṭât* at al-Baḥra' soon after noon, and the following morning the rebels commanded by 'Abdal'azîz arrived before the settlement. They had come from Danaba (al-Baṣîri) by way of the reservoir, al-Lu'lu'a (al-'Elejjâniġje), and al-Malika (al-Mlêke). Therefore the reservoir, which must have been situated between al-Baṣîri and al-'Elejjâniġje, I look for in the large artificial reservoir at the foot of the isolated Mt. 'Âde, whence water was led down to the valley of al-Bârde.

Whoever held Danaba (al-Baṣîri) in his power also controlled the easiest road from the south to Ḥomṣ. Danaba, however, could have been circumvented by the pass of al-'Anejbe, about twenty-five kilometers to the southwest. For this reason 'Abdal'azîz ibn al-Ḥaġġâġ might well have encamped at the reservoir at the foot of Mt. 'Âde. From the top of this mountain he could have gained a splendid view both to the south and southwest and thus could easily have blocked the approach of Walid either to Danaba or al-'Anejbe. When the latter drew off northeast to al-Lu'lu'a, 'Abdal'azîz followed him closely, came across his pack caravan, and

captured it. Encamping then at al-Lu'lu'a, he did not know which way Walid was going to turn; therefore he hastened to al-Mlêke. To prevent Walid's further flight to the northeast, he sent Manşûr from al-Lu'lu'a with instructions to march in that direction.

Manşûr marched east of al-Frej. Tell al-Frej (not Tell al-Kurej, as the text reads) is an isolated, round hillock in the plain about twenty-five kilometers northeast of al-Lu'lu'a and is visible from a great distance. On the far side of it the Nihja road was said to lead to al-Baĥra'. There was a watering place of Nihja, known to the poets as lying in the region southwest or west of Palmyra. Jâkût (*op. cit.*, Vol. 4, p. 852) visited a ruined settlement called Nihja, the modern at-Tjâs, during his trip from Aleppo by way of ar-Rușâfa to al-Ķarjatân. But to call a road leading east of Tell al-Frej to al-Baĥra' after a settlement situated almost half-way between al-Žerjitejn and Tudmor is hardly possible. This leads me to believe that the word "Nihja" is corrupted. In *op. cit.*, Ser. 2, p. 1803, note q, we find the variant "Tihja," which suggests that the spelling "Nihja" or "Tihja" (THJ) is due to confusion with the following verb *tahajja'a* (THJ). "Halba" is probably the correct reading. From the Ķul-bân al-Halba an old road leads to al-Baĥra'.

The road running from al-Lu'lu'a east of Tell al-Frej to al-Baĥra follows a north-northwesterly course by way of al-Bâzûrije to Tudmor. If Manşûr met on this road the messenger hurrying from Walid II at al-Baĥra to 'Abbâs at aš-Še'eb, we must look for aš-Še'eb east or north-northeast of al-Baĥra', and hence, as we have explained, at the spring of al-Ķşejbe or at aš-Šagara. There al-'Abbâs was to stay until the rebels had completely surrounded Walid at al-Baĥra, which happened before sunrise.

'Abdarrahmân ibn Maşâd relates (aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 2, p. 1808) that Walid II sent Abu Muĥammad as-Sufjâni to Damascus as his lieutenant and that the latter stopped at Danaba. On hearing of this the new caliph, Yazid III, at once sent 'Abdarrahmân to Abu Muĥammad at Danaba to bring him over to his own side. In this he succeeded. 'Abdarrahmân then stayed at Danaba until the report of Walid's death had been brought by a rider from the desert, when he started for Damascus to bring the glad tidings to Yazid III; but in this someone forestalled him.—

It is evident from this that Danaba must have lain on the road from al-Baĥra' to Damascus and also on the desert borders. In all probability a few riders left al-Baĥra' shortly after the tragedy, in order to inform the new caliph of the death of his enemy, and, expecting a good reward, made all possible speed. For an unknown reason—perhaps a poor horse—one of them halted at Danaba, while the rest rode on, reaching Damascus ahead of 'Abdarrahmân, who learned of Walid's end only after they had left. A rider hurrying from al-Baĥra' by the shortest route to Damascus must go by al-Baṣîri, which we have already identified with Danaba.

'Abdal'azîz's Camp at al-Ĥîra

The shortest report of the tragic fate of Walid we read in aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, pp. 1794 f. Yazid III collected four bodies of men, each with a leader, and for the commander-in-chief appointed 'Abdal'azîz ibn al-Ĥaġġâġ ibn 'Abdalmalek, who marched out and encamped at al-Ĥîra.—

Thus the report ends. If it is not to be regarded as merely fragmentary or incomplete, al-Ĥira must be sought as the place where 'Abdal'azîz met Walid II — that is, his castle at al-Baĥra'. Unfortunately, the correctness of the reading al-Ĥira cannot be proved with any degree of certainty.

De Goeje, who in editing the *Ġiz' at-tâlet*, p. 138, had this place name printed "al-Ġiza," in editing aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, p. 1795, decided for "al-Ĥira" — entirely justifiably in my opinion, because in other manuscripts this same name is likewise often corrupted into "Ġiza." Thus, for instance, al-Ḥaṭîb al-Ġawhari, *Durr* (Codex vindobonensis), fol. 93r., writes: *Al-ḥawarnaḵ wa-s-sadîr bi-l-ġiza*. As al-Ḥawarnaḵ and as-Sadîr are well known manors near al-Ĥira in Irak (see my *The Middle Euphrates*, pp. 104-106, note 58), "al-Ġiza" may very well be a corruption of "al-Ĥira"; therefore, by analogy, in the *Ġiz' at-tâlet* the designation "al-Ġiza" should probably be replaced by the correct al-Ĥira. Hence, in our judgment, al-Ĥira is merely another name for al-Baĥra', where the rebels, commanded by 'Abdal'azîz encamped when they had overtaken Walid II.

The name al-Ĥira would seem to be confirmed by the fact that al-Baĥra' consisted, as we have seen above, of a permanent fortified camp (*fostât*) and an even stronger "castle" or manor (*kaṣr*) built by the Persians during their occupation of Syria between 612 and 622. Undoubtedly the Persian Arabs who came there called a manor fortified in this way *ḥira* (see above, p. 288); and this name, which persisted even when the Persians were gone, has been preserved to us in the account just mentioned.

To the northeast of al-Baĥra' and fifteen kilometers southeast of aṭ-Ṭajjibe is the fortified camp of al-Ĥêr. Its architecture and ornaments remind us of the Persian style. The name al-Ĥêr as well as that of the Kaṣr al-Ĥêr, 56 kilometers west-southwest of al-Baĥra', comes from the same root as that of the name al-Ĥira. Since, therefore, aṭ-Ṭabari, *op. cit.*, Ser. 2, p. 1797, distinctly declares that the manor at al-Baĥra' was built by the Persians, we have corroborative evidence that it may once have been called al-Ĥira.

Lammens, *Bâdia* (1910), pp. 104f., asserts that at the outbreak of the rebellion Walid II lived at al-Azraḵ. All sources state explicitly, however, that he lived at al-Ardaf, which is seventy kilometers south of al-Azraḵ. According to Lammens, the rebels commanded by 'Abdal'azîz rode from Damascus west of the Ḥawrân to Boṣra and thence on the Roman road to al-Azraḵ and stopped at al-Ġiza. It would be necessary, however, for Lammens to prove the existence of a Roman road from Boṣra to al-Azraḵ. That they stopped at the settlement of al-Ġiza, north-west of Boṣra, is in direct contradiction to all the reports of the Arabic chroniclers.

APPENDIX X

A RECONSTRUCTION OF AR-REŞÂFA

BY

PROFESSOR ANTONÍN MENDEL, PRAGUE

The present study is based on three sources:

1. Professor Musil's original plane table surveys, photographs, and description, and the historical data which he brought together relating to ar-Reşâfa.

2. Samuel Guyer, *Ruşâfah*, in: Friedrich Sarre und Ernst Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet*, Vol. 2, Berlin, 1920, pp. 1—44.

3. H. Spanner und S. Guyer, *Rusafa, die Wallfahrtsstadt des heiligen Sergios*, Berlin, 1926.

In the last-named volume Spanner, who visited ar-Reşâfa on two occasions during the World War, minutely and exhaustively describes and sketches all the ruins and Guyer discusses them from the historical and artistic points of view.

All the conclusions and conjectures regarding the reconstruction of the ruins of ar-Reşâfa are tentative; they will have to be confirmed by excavation, something that none of the students who have visited the site have been able to undertake. The importance of the remains at ar-Reşâfa lies in their contribution to the knowledge of that transitional period in the history of art lying between the late-decadent classic and the early Christian.

The plan of ar-Reşâfa (Fig. 91) is typical of that of the Hellenistic town, a rectangular plan taken over by the Romans and carried by them throughout the Empire. Its main features are walls oriented according to the points of the compass, two intersecting main streets connecting gates in the centers of the opposite walls, a gridiron arrangement of secondary residential streets parallel with the main streets, and an elaborate system of aqueducts and cisterns.

THE TOWN WALLS

The town walls (see Fig. 91 and above, pp. 155—156) were constructed in two stories. Of these the lower is now partly buried beneath the débris and the upper disintegrating in many places (Fig. 43, p. 156). The outer face of the walls was reinforced by square, towerlike structures or buttress towers. In the corners the walls were strengthened by barbicans of circular plan (Figs. 44 [p. 158], 91, 92).

The upper story of the walls forms, virtually, a gallery, presenting toward the town large openings provided with semicircular arches. From the town side an embrasure may be seen on the axis of each interior arch. The upper story was reached both by exposed double staircases and by enclosed staircases within the principal gates.

THE NORTH AND EAST GATES

The north gate, or main entrance into ar-Reṣâfa, ranks among the most beautiful as well as among the best preserved products of Byzantine architecture (Fig. 51, p. 162). Since the interior façade is flush with the town wall (Figs. 47 [p. 158], 93) the whole bulk of the gate is thrown outside the line of the wall, an unusual feature and one of some interest. In the case of other ancient gates (Spalato, Aosta, Pompeii) the body of the gate intrudes into the town or projects only very slightly beyond the outer face of the wall, an arrangement prompted by tactical considerations, an approaching enemy being exposed to a sweeping shower of missiles. Viewed from this standpoint the position of the northern gate at ar-Reṣâfa was anything but favorable. However, the passages inclosed within the walls and the embrasures (*balistraria*) above the sole ingress (Fig. 94) fully compensated for this disadvantage.

The north gate consists of the *propugnaculum* proper, of ample dimensions, and of two tower-like structures which flank it.

The outer wall of the *propugnaculum* is now in a very ruinous condition. Unlike the façades of other gates dating from the same period, which for the most part are triaxial, that of the outer wall is entered by a single ingress. The inner wall, on the other hand, is pierced by three openings, a large central one and two smaller lateral ones (Figs. 51 [p. 162], 93, 94). The rich southern interior façade is first strikingly revealed to the arriving visitor in a vista through the main entrance. The other interior walls of the *propugnaculum* (Figs. 55 [p. 165], 95) were treated with greater modesty — probably intentionally —, although they are relieved by pilasters having Corinthianized capitals and bases and by a straight entablature.

Let us examine in greater detail the southern interior of the *propugnaculum*. This façade has three coördinate and two subordinate axes with advanced piers and archivolts. Apparently classical in design, these remind us vividly of the Porta Aurea in Spalato and of the sixth century temples of central Syria. In the Porta Aurea, which dates from the third century, the dominant motive is almost the same, although executed on a smaller scale. At ar-Reṣâfa each entrance is flanked by columns resting on bases and having capitals that carry highly ornamental archivolts. All the members of the larger archivolts are continued around the smaller arches that are supported by the columns between the openings, the curves of the arches mitring into a short horizontal piece over each column. This gives a band of alternating high and low arches. The archivolts and columns are not merely ornamental members, since the voussoirs of the arches actually carry the superimposed masonry. The rich effect of the wall, however, is enhanced and harmonized by the splendid ornamentation of the various members.

Each of the three openings under its archivolt is spanned by a flat arch and the rectangular opening itself is surrounded by elaborate moldings. The main entrance is considerably elevated, its flat arch being relieved by consoles adorned with acanthus. A secondary semi-circular arch is introduced above each smaller entrance below the greater arch, forming a tympanum above the opening. This treatment is probably dictated rather by decorative than by structural considerations. The wall above the

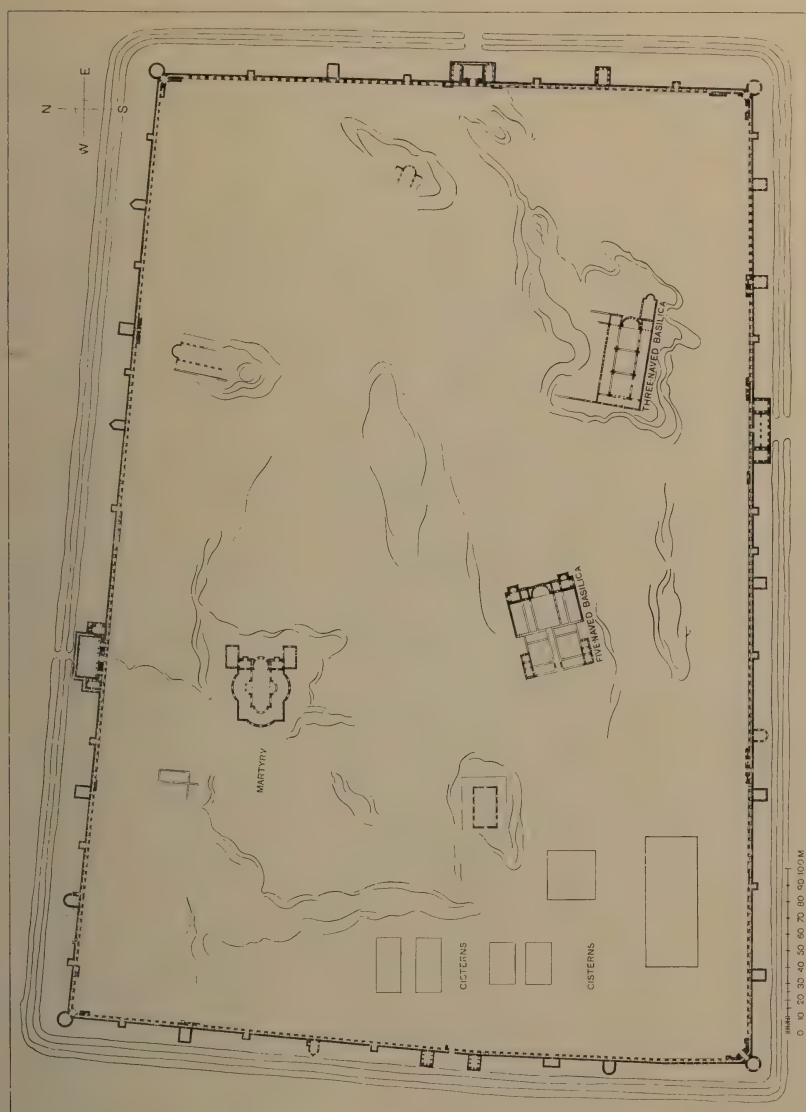


FIG. 91—Ar-Reşâfa: general plan of ruins.

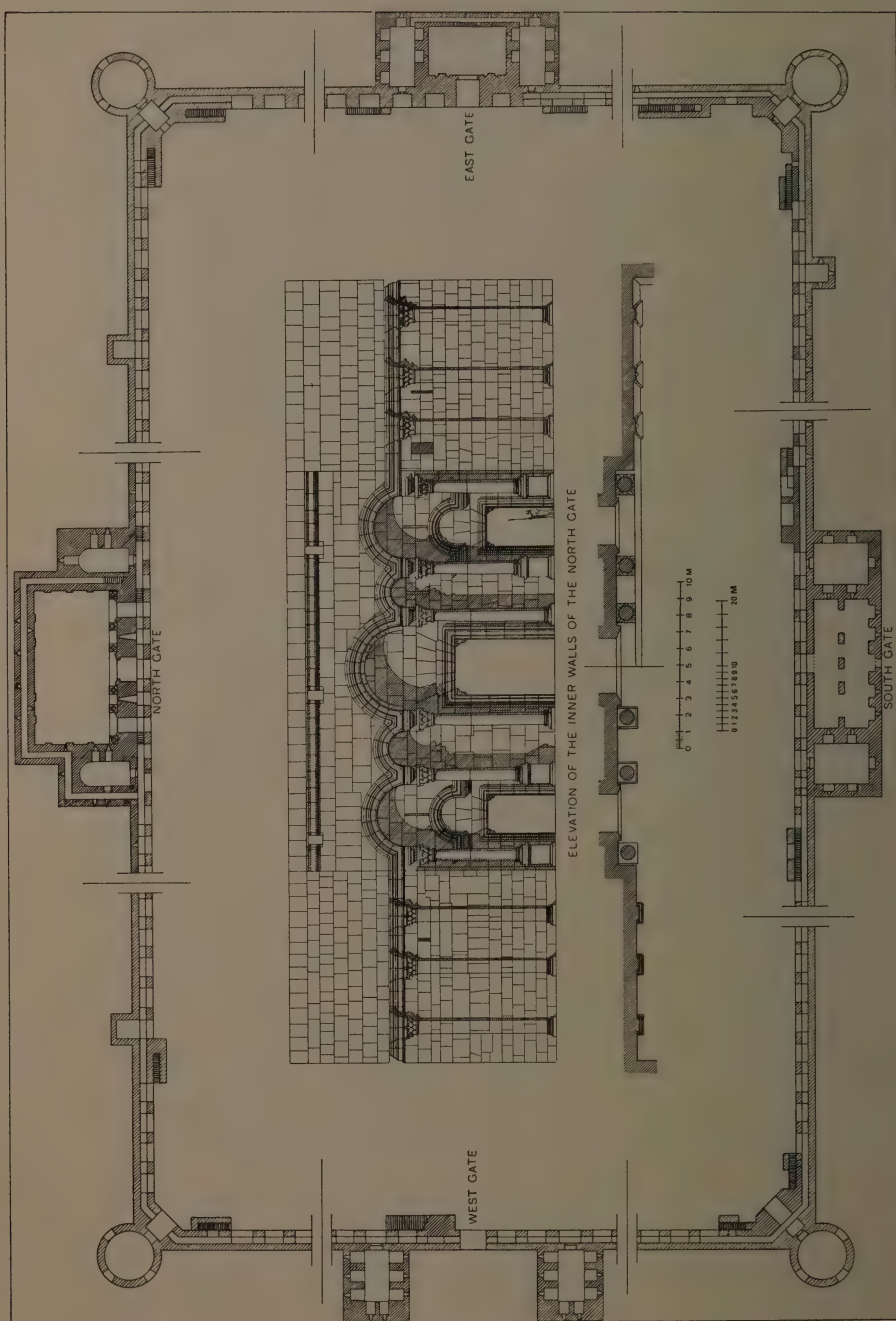


FIG. 92—Ar-Resāfa: gates, ground plan; reconstructed elevation of interior walls of *propugnaculum* of north gate.

continuous archivolt is capped with a cymation in lieu of a full cornice; the cymation, according to Herzfeld (Guyer, *Ruşâfah* [1920], p. 25), is rhythmically interrupted by a motive of lions' heads. On Musil's photograph (Fig. 51, p. 162), however, this rhythm cannot be easily discovered.

The lowest third of the gate is buried in ruins and Musil was too pressed for time to excavate. But as the bases of the columns by the main entrance are partly above ground, it is obvious that they must rest on pedestals. Herzfeld (Guyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 20) has determined the exact base moldings, which in their principal features correspond with those of an Attic base. The shafts of the columns are not monolithic, each being composed of two unchanneled drums. The astragal shows a classic form.

Most attention, however, is attracted by the superb capitals (Figs. 52, p. 163; 54, p. 164). The core of each capital is completely enveloped in acanthus leaves that touch one another, testifying to their purely Byzantine origin. The foliage is arranged alternately in two tiers, one above the other. In the corners the diagonals of the abaci are supported by volutes. Between the abaci and the springs of the archivolts dosserets are introduced in the form of and suggesting the architrave of an entablature. These dosserets have an ornate cymatium and their sides bear crude bosses. Above the dosserets rise the powerful arches of the superbly molded archivolt (Fig. 94). All the members of this archivolt are ornamented.

In subjecting the age of this structure to historical criticism Guyer (*loc. cit.*) excludes any possibility of the building having arisen in the pre-Justinian period. From the fact that all the members are molded analogously he concludes that it cannot antedate the sixth century.

Of the south gate and the walled-in west gate Professor Musil has no photographs.

The east gate is represented in two views, one showing the vista through its *propugnaculum* in the direction of the martyr (Fig. 48, p. 159), the other displaying the details of the right-hand side (Fig. 49, p. 159).

THE MARTYR

Among the buildings within the walls great interest attaches to the martyr (see pp. 156—157), of which the eastern part only is still preserved (Figs. 57, 58, 59, pp. 170—171).

Both in ground plan (Fig. 96) and architectural composition this building presents certain extraordinary features. The ground plan shows a tendency toward the combination of the longitudinal and central schemes of composition, as in the temple of St. Sophia at Constantinople. A rectangular nave terminates at the eastern end in a semicircular apse with a semi-dome, the apse being somewhat narrower than the nave. The latter is expanded on the north, south, and west sides by semicircular bays, the aisles conforming with the outlines of the nave. The principal apse (Fig. 59, p. 171) is flanked by two spacious compartments, a *diaconicon*, and a *prothesis*, each of which has a small apse in its eastern wall (Fig. 60, p. 171). This grouping of small apses necessitates broad exterior pilasters at the eastern end of the building (Fig. 57, p. 170). The eastern front

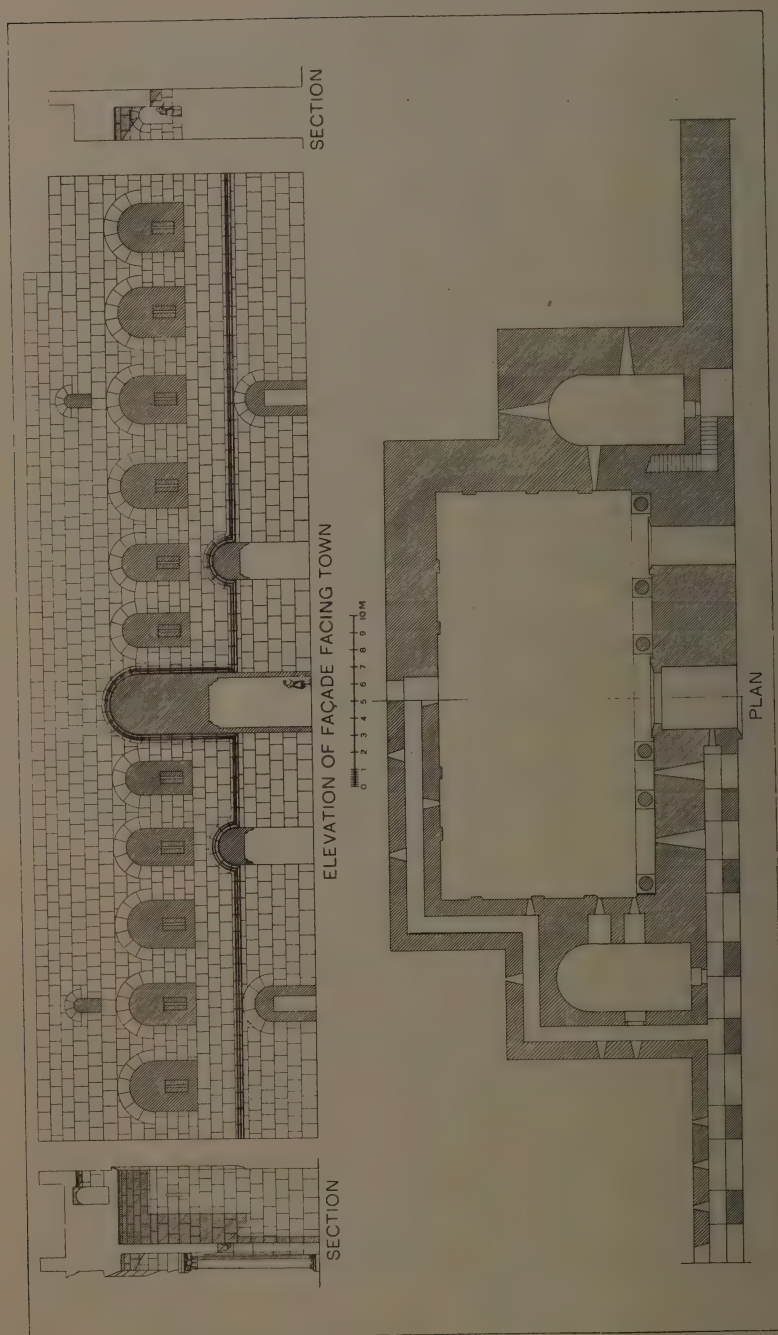


FIG. 93.—Ar-Resâfa: north gate, ground plan; reconstructed elevation of façade facing town; sections of gate and walls.

is not masked behind a flat wall, but the various component masses may be differentiated even in the ground plan. In this respect the building resembles the sixth-century churches of central Syria. Both the main and the other apses bear traces of mosaic ornamentation (Fig. 97). Within the wall on either side of the principal apse there is a staircase 70 centimeters wide which certainly led to the upper stories above the lateral



FIG. 94—Ar-Reşâfa: north gate, east interior wall of the *propugnaculum*.

spaces. The rise and tread of the steps are both given by Musil as 25 centimeters. The 45° slope of the stairway as a whole thus indicated seems to be confirmed from the view of the eastern wall, which shows us that the apse and the lateral compartments maintained the same pitch in their relative heights. The exceptional strength of the walls at the eastern end has retarded the destruction of this part of the structure.

However easy it may be to trace the ground plan, the reconstruction of the church is a very difficult matter. From the remains of the principal apse we may infer that the nave attained a considerable height. The spatial composition, as we conceive it, precludes any idea of raised apsidal extensions as high as the nave itself in the northern, southern, and western walls. Moreover, it cannot be doubted that the lateral apsidal extensions were lower than the principal apse. The splendor with which the latter, as well as the subordinate apses of the adjacent spaces, was executed admits semi-domes as the most probable vaultings over the apsidal extensions. While the aisles certainly conformed with the nave in most details, it is likely that their ceilings were of wood, possibly with flat surfaces (Figs. 98, 99, 100).

The fenestration consisted of clerestory windows above the aisle

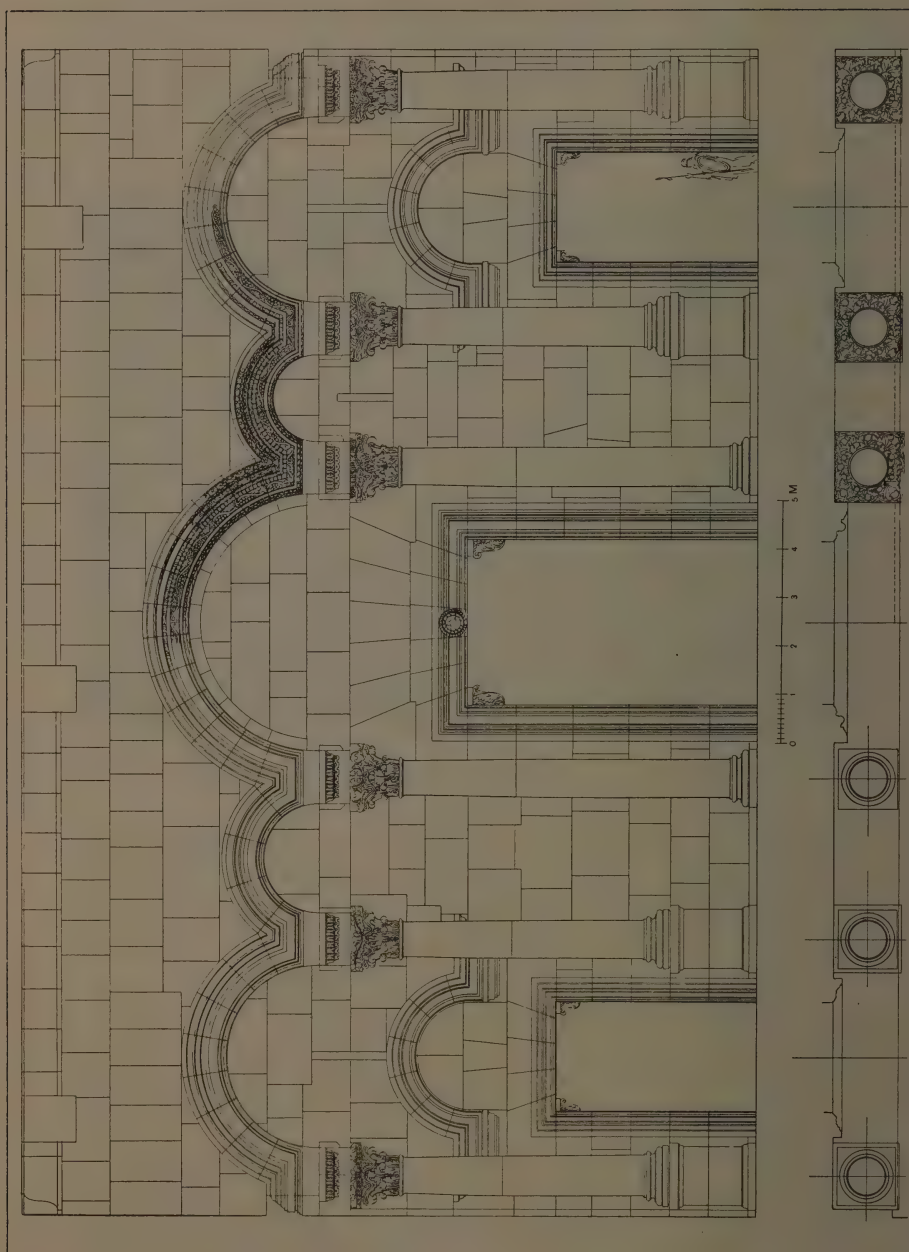


FIG. 95.—Ar-Reşafa: north gate, reconstructed elevation of detail of south interior façade of the *propugnaculum*.

roof. The nave communicated with the aisles partly through arcades in the lateral apses. There is no doubt that the arches of the arcades rested on columns, to all appearance not more than two to each apse. Between the apses there were also openings from the nave into the aisles, but it seems probable that in these openings no columns were placed, in order that a uniform scale might be maintained.

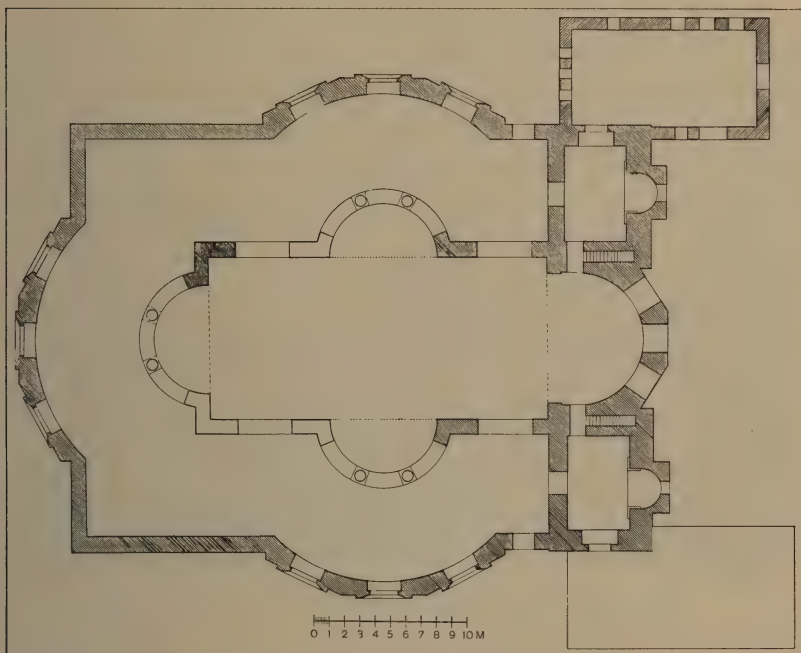


FIG. 96—Ar-Reşâfa: martyrion, ground plan.

Guyer (*op. cit.*, pp. 29f.) rejects the possibility of vaults over the lateral aisles, basing this opinion on the absence of any ruins of vaulting or of any pilasters. The absence of the ruins of vaulting, however, is not at all decisive and the absence of pilasters means little in view of the fact that the lateral apses do not abut vertically upon the principal masonry, the centers of the apsidal circles lying in the face of the main walls.

The exterior of the basilica was no doubt monumental and highly interesting. The main apse at the eastern end of the church was flanked by storied towers raised over the lateral spaces. Into the towers the supports of the aisle roofs were embedded. The walls of the nave above these roofs were pierced by a series of windows, possibly adorned with posts on corbels. These posts may have had capitals and bases and may

have supported the roof trusses on the inside and the principal cornice on the outside.

The superb ornamentation both of the interior and exterior of the basilica places the latter among the best executed churches not only in ar-Reşâfa but also in the whole of central Syria and Asia Minor.

THE SOUTHERN CHURCH

The five-aisled basilica described by Musil (see, above, p. 157) as the southern church is not mentioned in Guyer's *Ruşāfah*; Spanner designates it as Basilica B. From what has been preserved (Figs. 61, 62, 63 [pp. 173—175], 102, 103) we may only conclude that the church was of imposing dimensions and that its ornamental execution equalled, if it did not exceed, in splendor that of the northern gate and of the martyr. A reconstruction of this basilica without recourse to excavations would be impracticable.

BASILICA OF ST. SERGIUS

The largest structure in ar-Reşâfa was situated in the southeastern quarter of the city (Fig. 91). As the ruins are comparatively well preserved, it has been possible to determine the ground plan and to reconstruct the entire building. This basilica has an oriented dromic (longitudinal) plan and consists of a narthex, a nave with two aisles, and a semicircular apse (Fig. 105). The detailed ornamentation is very poor: we need refer only to the capitals and archivolts of the triaxial arcade leading from the aisles to the lateral chapels, to the ornamentation of the apsidal concha, and to the capitals of the second structural period (Fig. 72, p. 194), which will be explained presently.

Even from a glance at the photographs (Figs. 65 to 69, pp. 182—190) we may discern evidence of three distinct stages of construction. Let us describe the elements dating from each of these three stages.

Elements Originating in the First Stage of Construction

The inner space proper is divided by cruciform piers into three travées or bays. In front of the first, or westernmost, of these is the narthex. The eastern travée opens directly into a semicircular apse, flanked by the conventional *diaconicon* and *prothesis* chapel; each of which opens into the corresponding aisle through a triaxial arcade (Fig. 70, p. 191). A compartment attached to the southern lateral space of this structure in prologation of its longitudinal axis and not shown on the plan (Fig. 105) was probably another *diaconicon*. The disposition of the ground plan at once recalls that of the central Syrian basilicas of the fourth to sixth centuries.

The nave consists of three bays, each bounded on the north and south sides by the principal walls pierced by powerful arches that rest upon the capitals of the cruciform piers and form the principal arcades (Fig. 106, 107, 108). On the inside above these arcades and on the outside above the roofs of the aisles the walls of the clerestory are pierced by rows of basilican windows adorned with posts, the bases of which are

supported by corbels projecting from the wall. In each travée of the clerestory there were six windows between each pair of piers. The capitals of the posts bear supports for the tie beams of the roof trusses, a motive characteristic of central Syrian architecture. Where the pilasters of the cruciform piers reach the cornice under the corbels of the posts, they are terminated with bossed capitals, upon which, no doubt, the transverse



FIG. 97—Ar-Reşâfa: martyr, detail of southern apse.

arches rested (Fig. 111). These transverse arches with their estrados supported the roof structure over the nave. The construction is similar to that of Ruwêḥa (De Vogüé, *Syrie centrale* [1865], pls. 68f.; Butler, *Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria* [1909], Div. 2, Sect. B, Part 3, p. 144). There was no other ceiling than the truss roof, which, in all probability, consisted of an open framework.

The eastern end of the nave terminates in a semicircular apse vaulted over with a concha. At the western end, in the direction of the main entrance, the nave ends in a wall pierced by a powerful arch of similar spring and width to the principal arcades in the longitudinal walls. The masonry above this arch had a row of regularly spaced clerestory windows at the same level as those of the lateral walls. The aisles extend slightly beyond the principal western front of the nave, a motive of some interest.

The aisles have unarticulated external walls with one doorway and two windows in each travée. There being no pilasters on the external walls corresponding to those on the cruciform piers, it is probable that the latter did not reach beyond the aisle roofs, of which they merely

supported the framework. From the great width of the aisles as well as from the fact that the cruciform piers have no bases for arches to rest upon in the direction toward the aisles, we may infer that there were no transverse arches. This view is also supported by the presence of a series of holes at the approximate level of the ridges of the aisle roofs

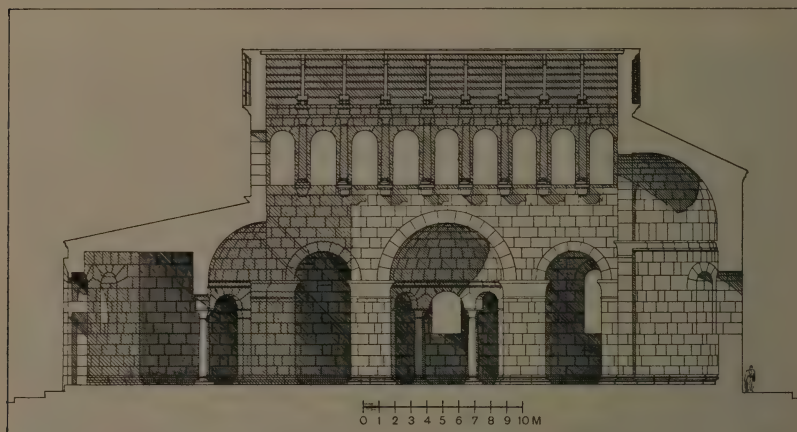


FIG. 98

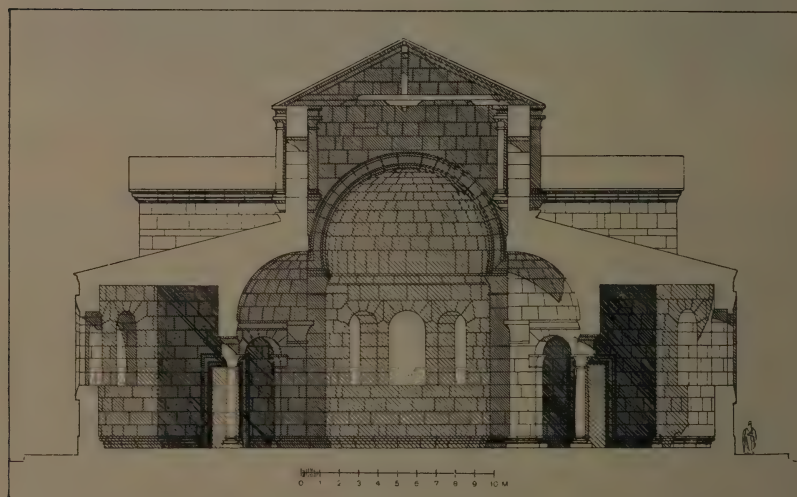


FIG. 99

FIG. 98—Ar-Reşâfa: martyry, longitudinal section.

FIG. 99—Ar-Reşâfa: martyry, transverse section.

(Figs. 68, p. 185; Fig. 69, p. 190). The northern and southern exterior walls of the aisles certainly corresponded in every detail.

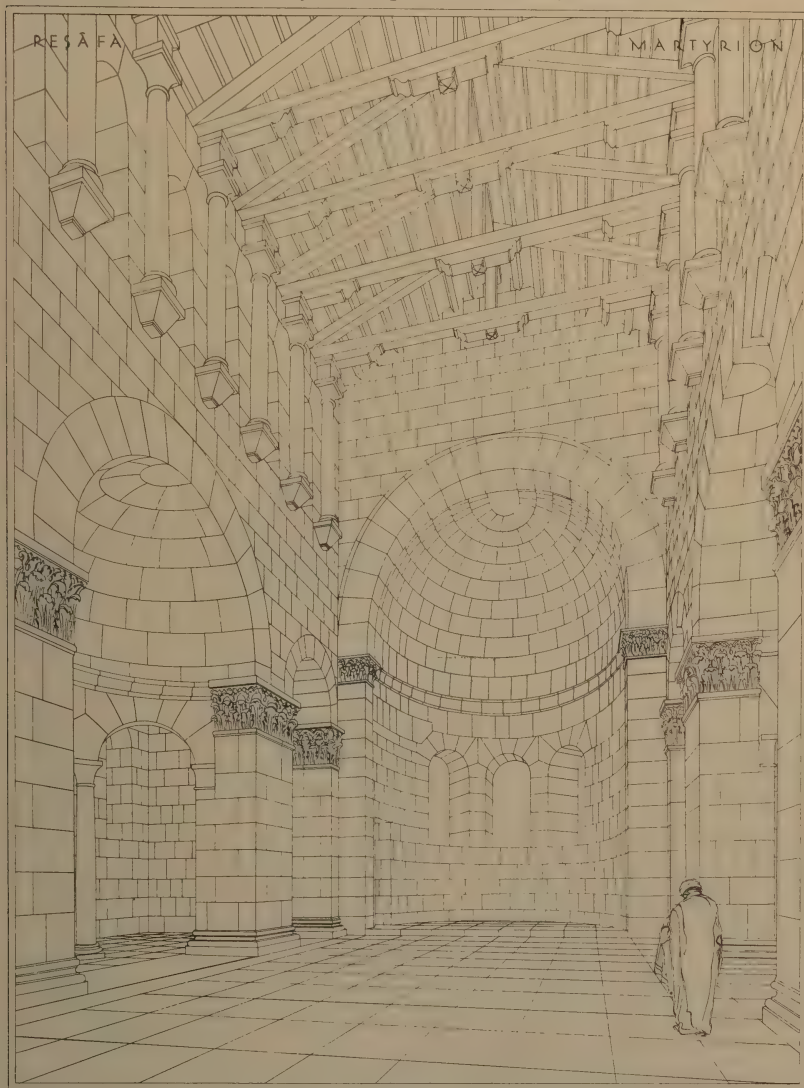


FIG. 100—Ar-Reşâfa: martyry, reconstruction of interior of the nave and apses, looking east.

The spatial composition of the choir is quite clear: the semicircular apse was vaulted over with a plain semi-dome (*concha*) and had lateral spaces attached.

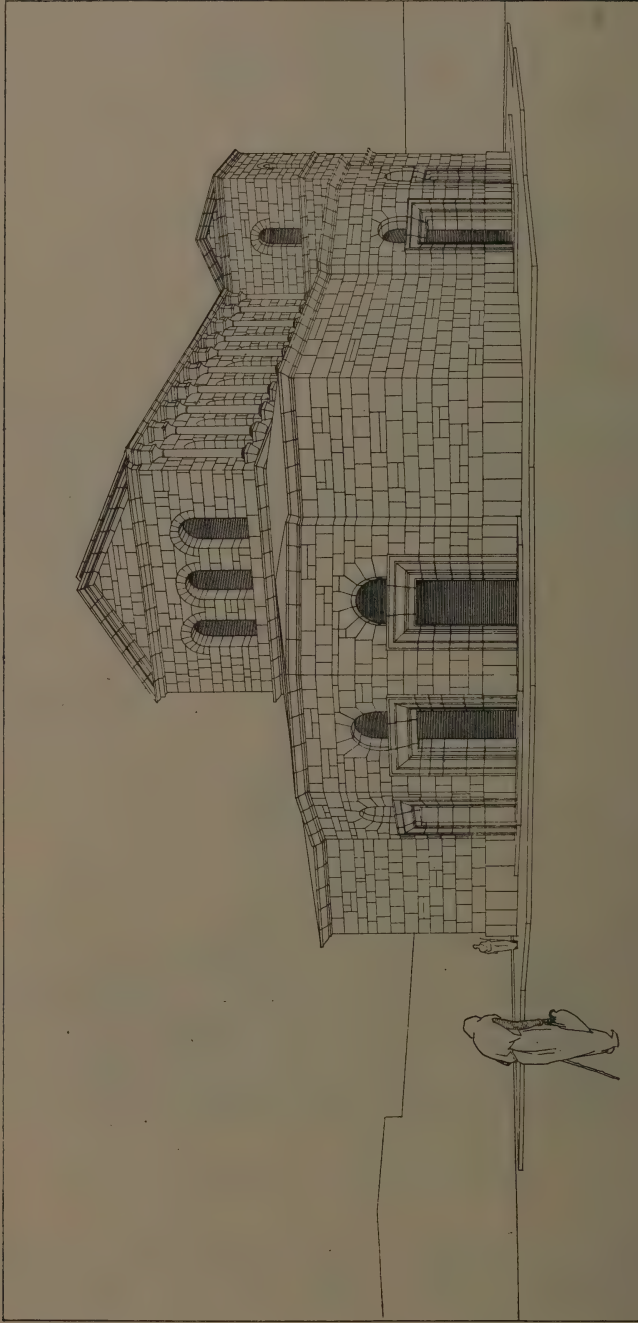


FIG. 101.—Ar-Reşâfa: martyry, perspective reconstruction of the exterior.

The fenestration of the apse consists of three windows at the level of the ground floor and of two other openings above the cornice of the semi-dome. The latter are apparently of a later date, being out of axis

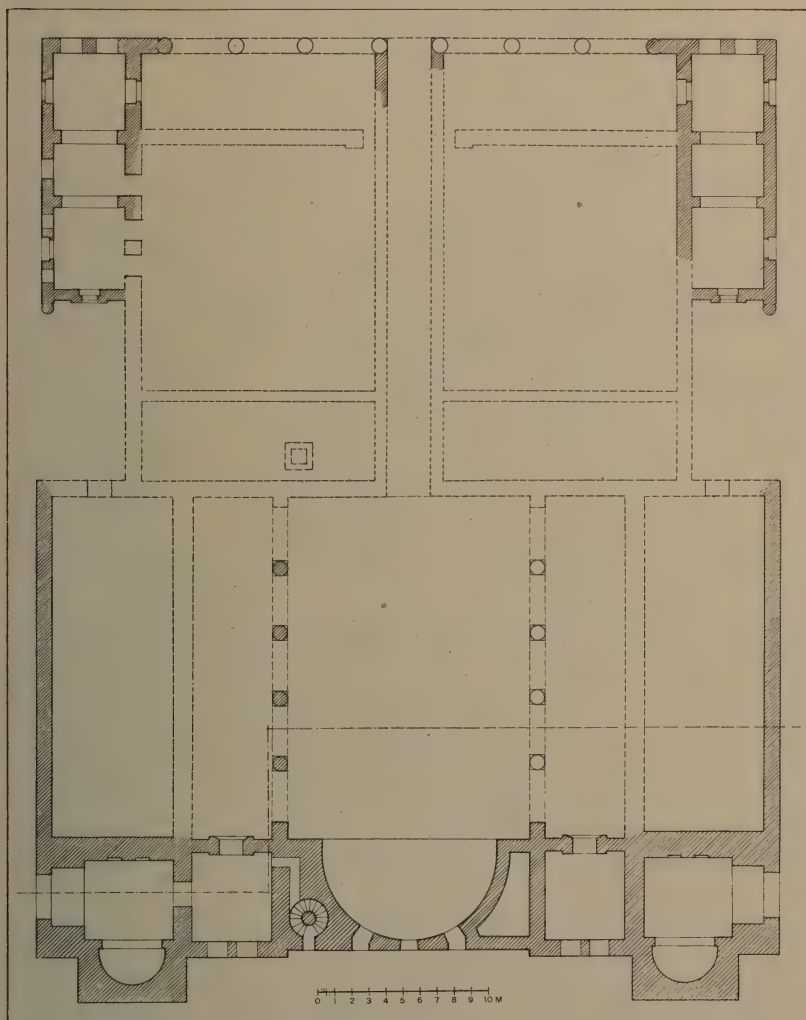


FIG. 102—Ar-Reşâfa: southern church, ground plan.

and disturbing the cornice. Dowel holes in the perpendicular wall of the apse show that this wall was originally lined with stone slabs.

The spaces adjacent to the apse had three stories. On the ground floor (Figs. 70 [p. 191], 107) communication with the aisles was effected by arcaded openings spanned by eccentric semicircular arches. The second



FIG. 103—Ar-Reşâfa: southern church, apse of the aisle.



FIG. 104—Ar-Reşâfa: southern church, the aisle.

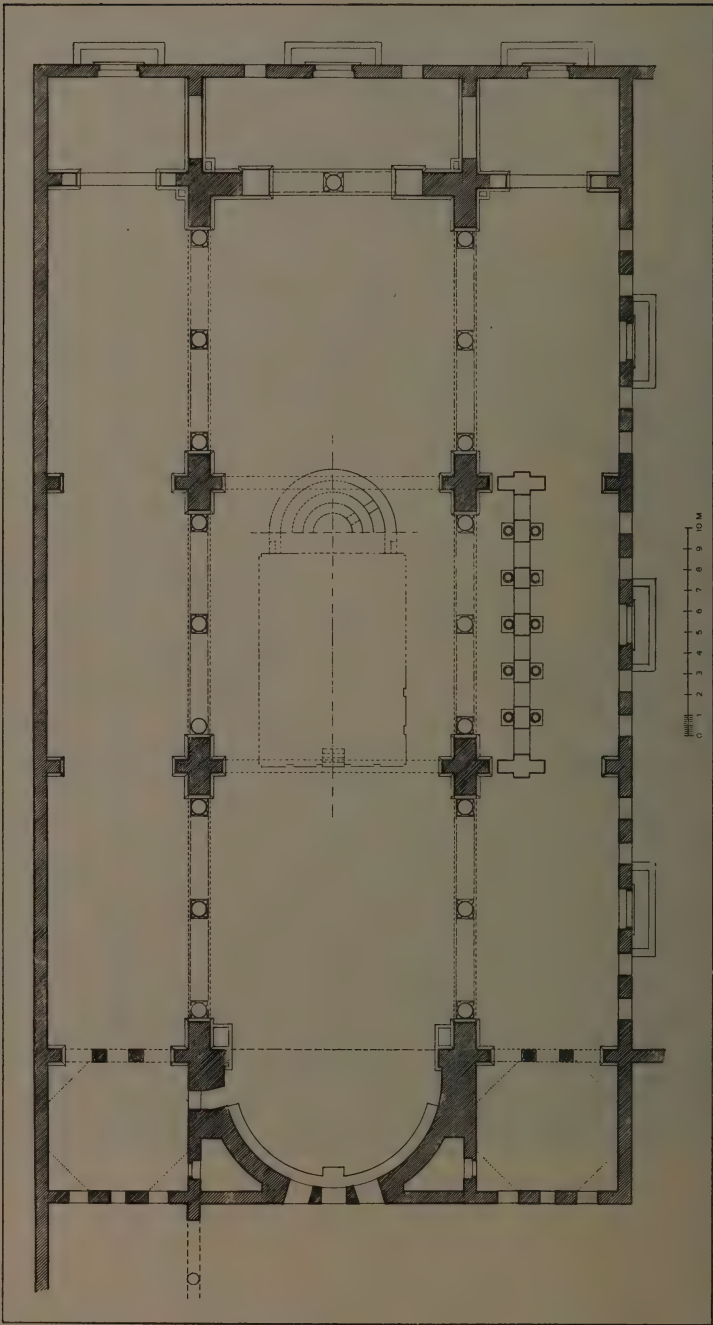


FIG. 105—Ar-Resâfa: basilica of St. Sergius, ground plan.

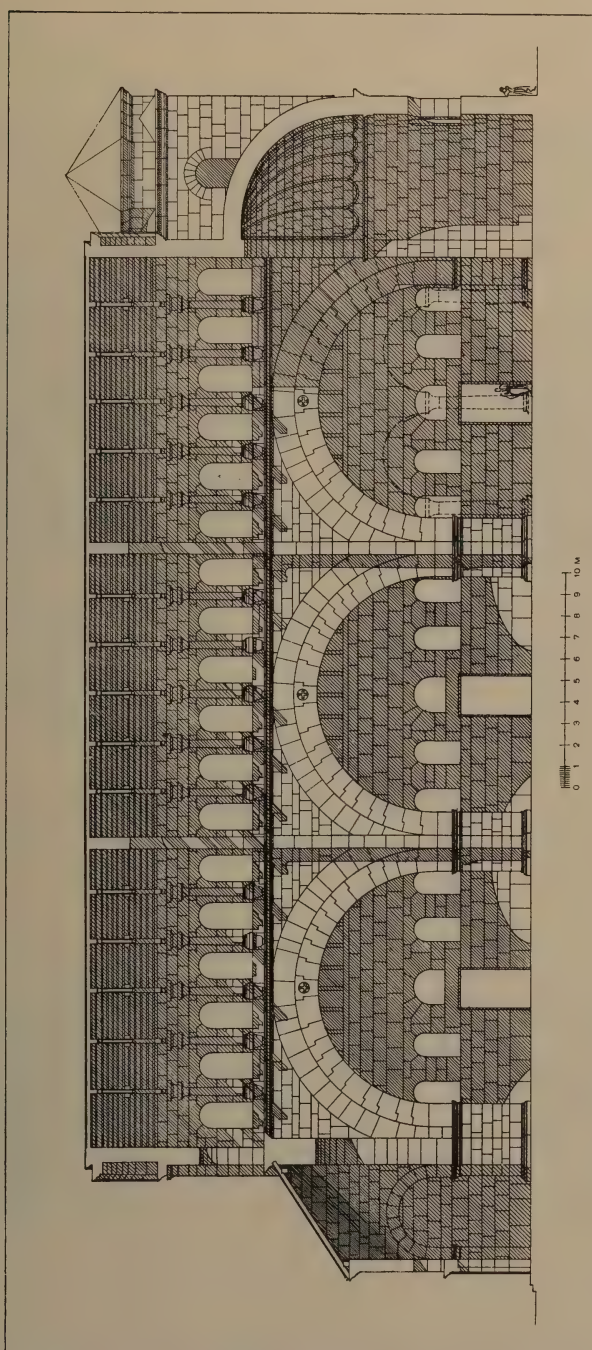


FIG. 106.—Ar-Reşâfa: basilica of St. Sergius, longitudinal section.

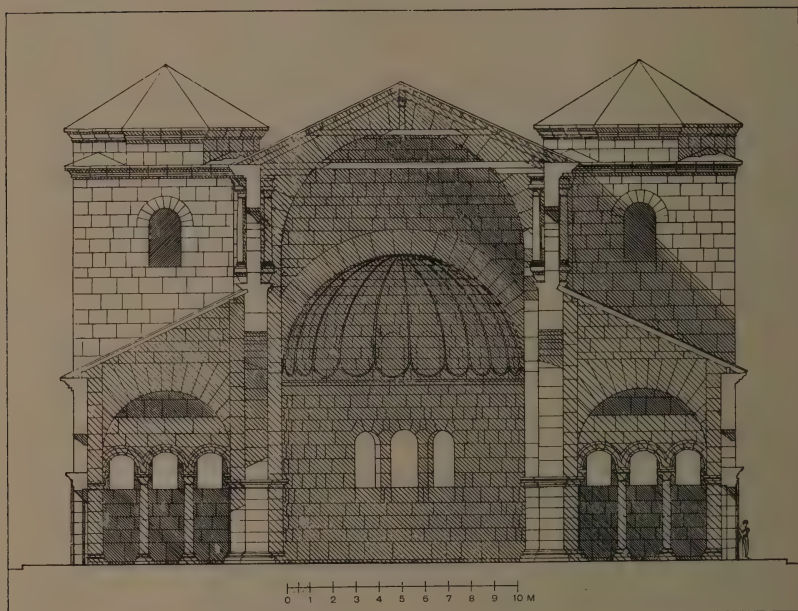


FIG. 107

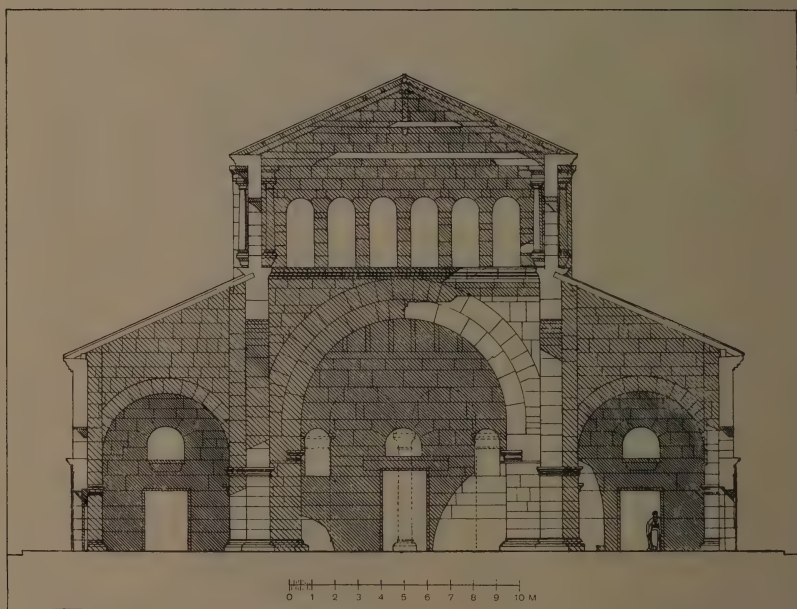


FIG. 108

FIG. 107—Ar-Reṣāfa: basilica of St. Sergius, transverse section, looking east.
 FIG. 108—Ar-Reṣāfa: basilica of St. Sergius, transverse section, looking west.

story opened into the corresponding aisle through a wider semicircular arch and had smaller windows looking outward. The third story (Fig. 71, p. 194) has small windows flanked on the inside by colonnettes similar to the posts on corbels in the nave. Squinch arches resting on these colonnettes give a transition between the square plan and a possible octagonal roof (Figs. 109, 110, 112).

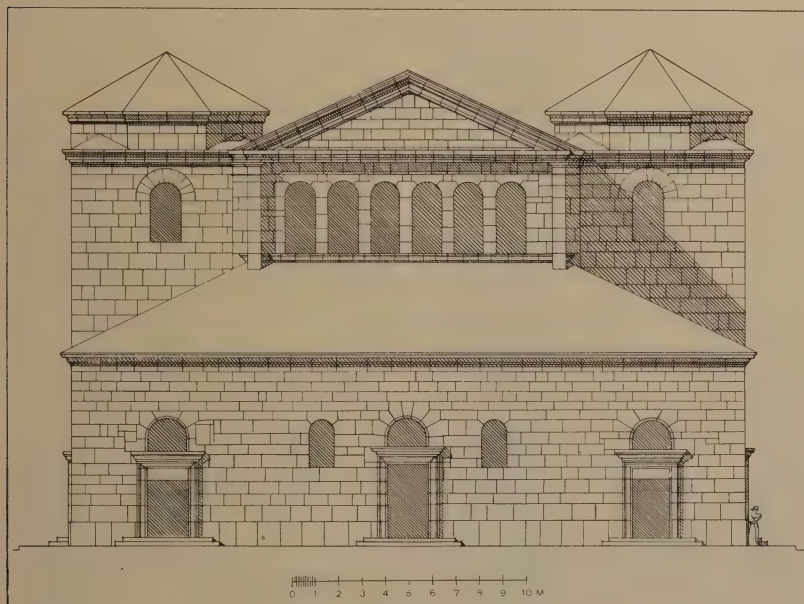


FIG. 109—Ar-Reşâfa: basilica of St. Sergius, reconstructed elevation of west front.

*Elements Originating in the Second and Third Stages
of Construction*

Each bay [of the principal nave walls is marked by a large arch subdivided by two smaller arches springing from the capitals of three columns. These smaller arches were probably added not only on the sides of the nave but at the end facing the narthex to lessen the scale of the great openings. In this way the nave was more effectively shut in and the narthex virtually separated from it. The narthex was divided into three compartments by partition walls built parallel with the longitudinal axis of the basilica. The doorways leading from the nave into the central part and two smaller compartments of the narthex were lined by molded chambranles.

In the third and last building period there were added the massive buttresses which insured the stability of the whole structure (Fig. 65, p. 182).

Judging from the articulated termination of the choir, from the

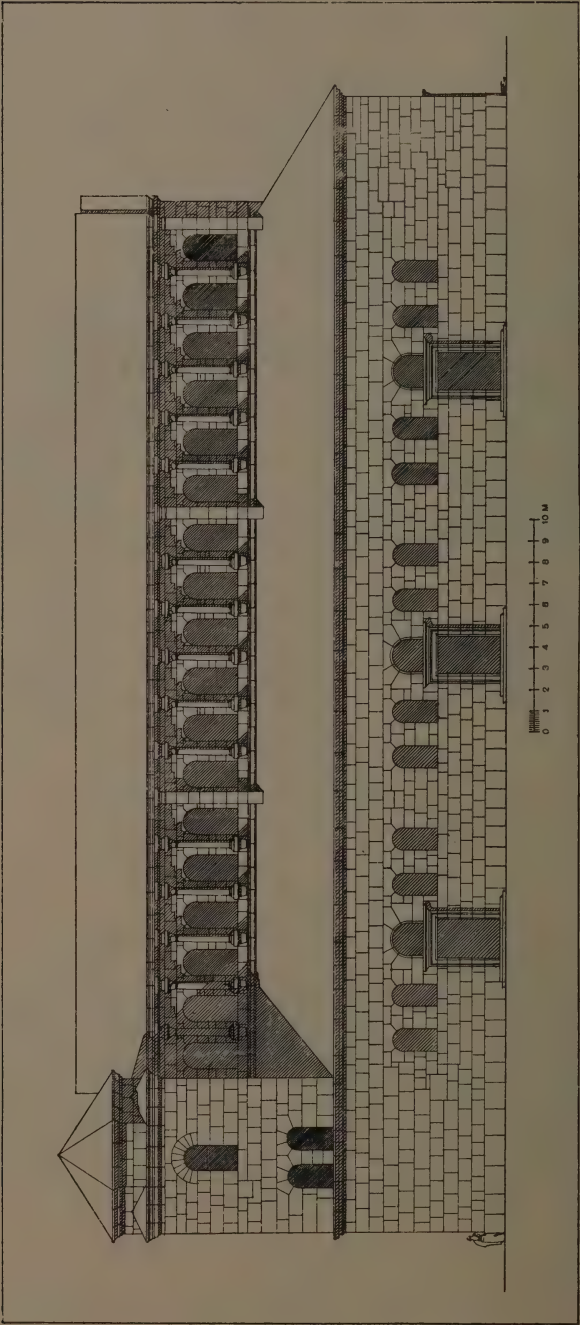


FIG. 110—Ar-Resâfa: basilica of St. Sergius, reconstructed elevation of north front.

execution of the windows and doors in the lateral walls, from the capitals, and from a comparison of this structure with edifices of central Syria

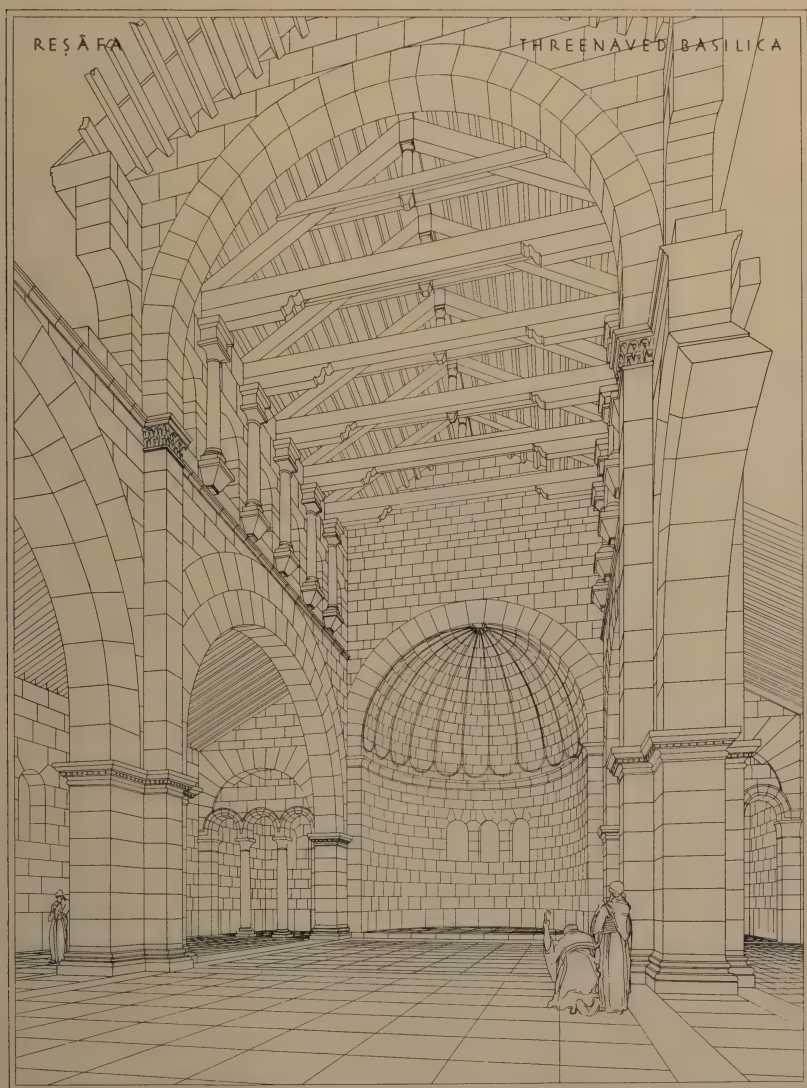


FIG. 111—Ar-Reşâfa: basilica of St. Sergius, reconstruction of interior, looking east.

the dates of which are known (particularly the Basilica of Turmanin), Guyer (*op. cit.*, pp. 7—13) confirms Musil in placing the origin of the basilica in the beginning of the sixth century.

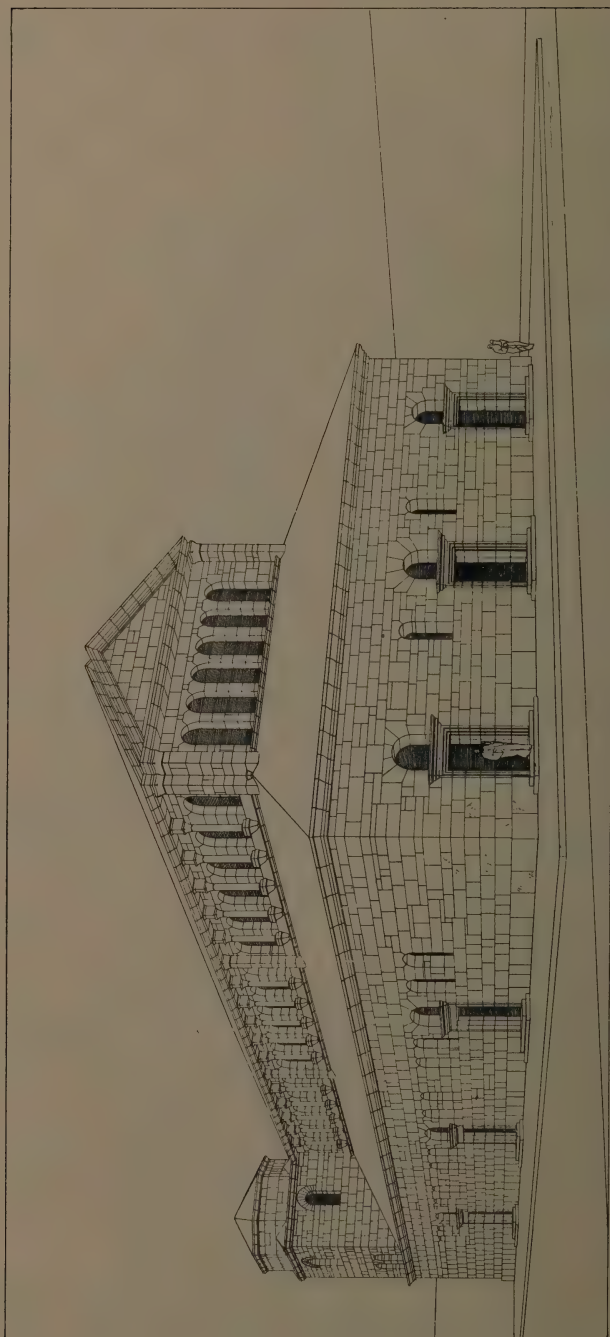


FIG. 112.—Ar-Resâfa: basilica of St. Sergius, perspective reconstruction of the exterior.

STRUCTURES OUTSIDE THE WALLS

In the center of an ancient cemetery outside the town and in front of the north gate Professor Musil found certain well-preserved ruins of a modest five-domed structure of typical Byzantine style. As Guyer justly observes, this structure is something of a mystery, inasmuch as the

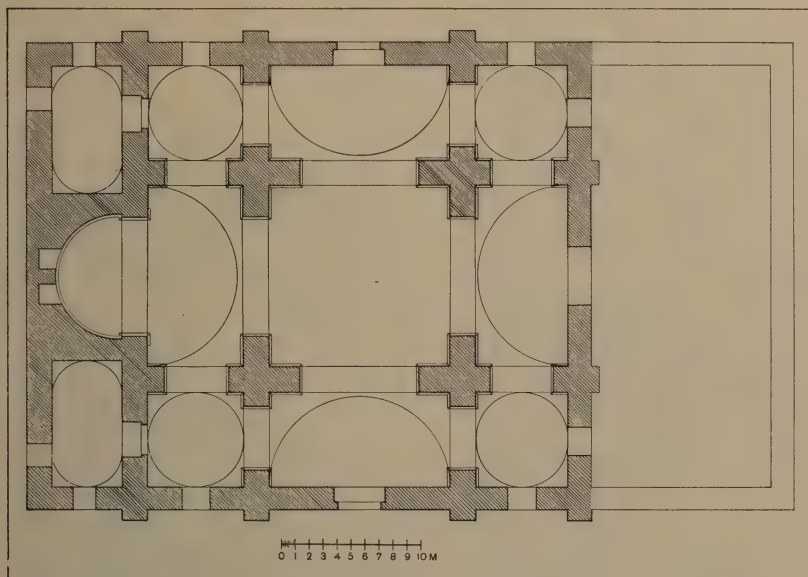


FIG. 113—Ar-Reşâfa: Alamundarus' church, ground plan.

building of ar-Reşâfa ought to be placed in the sixth century at the latest, whereas Byzantine architecture of the type of the structure beyond the walls flourished in the ninth century. Judging from the ground plan as sketched by Professor Musil (Fig. 113), this structure forms and unarticulated, closed-up rectangle about 20 meters long by 17 meters wide and divided into the following ground sections: 1) a narthex at the western end; 2) a church space proper, which forms a square and is divided by cruciform piers into a central space, also square, with eight smaller compartments surrounding it; and 3) a choir which conforms with the conventional Syrian scheme, i. e. that of a horseshoe-shaped apse flanked by lateral spaces of equal size.

Regarding the spatial composition (Figs. 114, 115), the central, as well as principal and largest, space is enclosed by four cruciform piers resting on bases and having capitals upon which rest four powerful unmolded arches. The walls of this central space terminate above in moldings. As to the ceiling, Musil's opinion differs from that of Guyer. The former states positively that the central space was surmounted by a lofty dome which then must have been supported on pendentives. Guyer

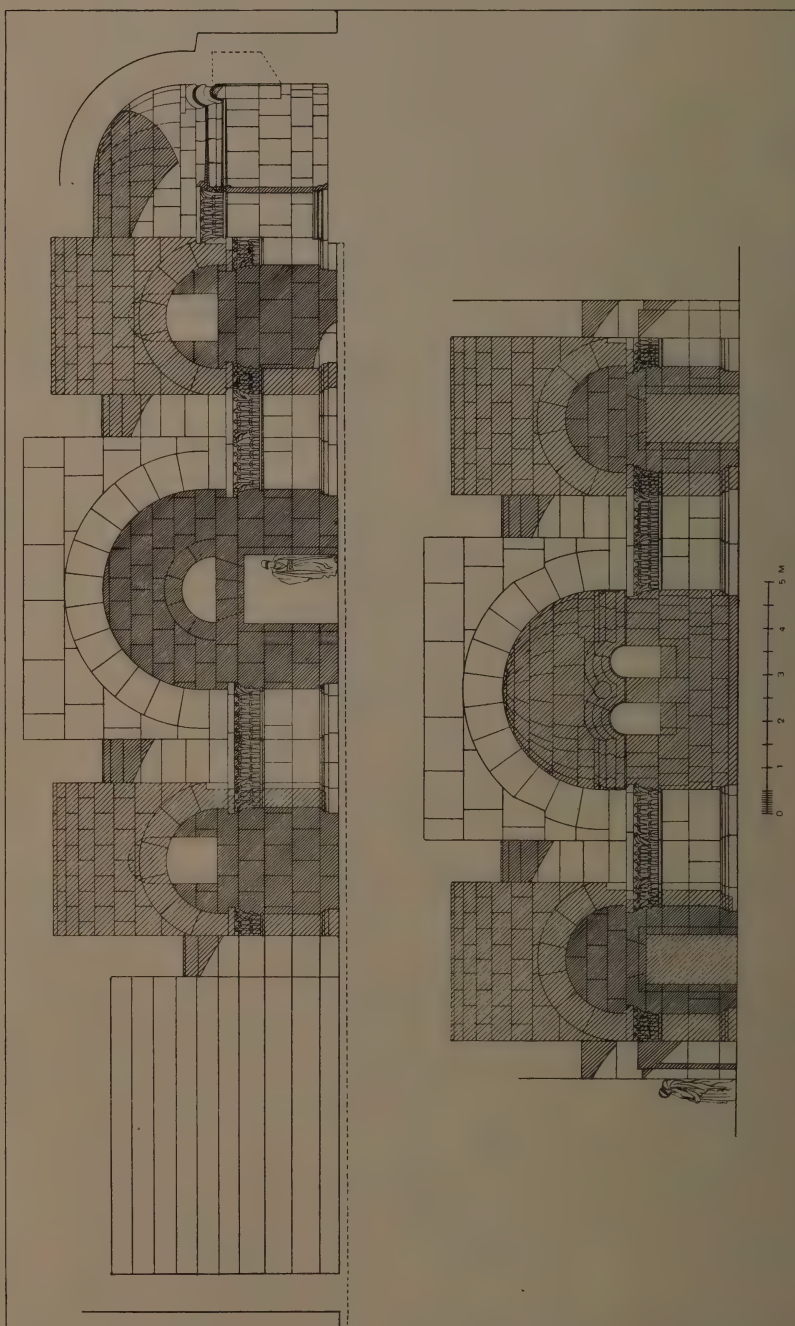


FIG. 114—Ar-Raṣāfa: Alamundarus' church, (above) longitudinal section; (below) transverse section.

(*op. cit.*, p. 40), on the other hand, basing his opinion of the absence of the remains of vaulting in the central portion of the church and referring

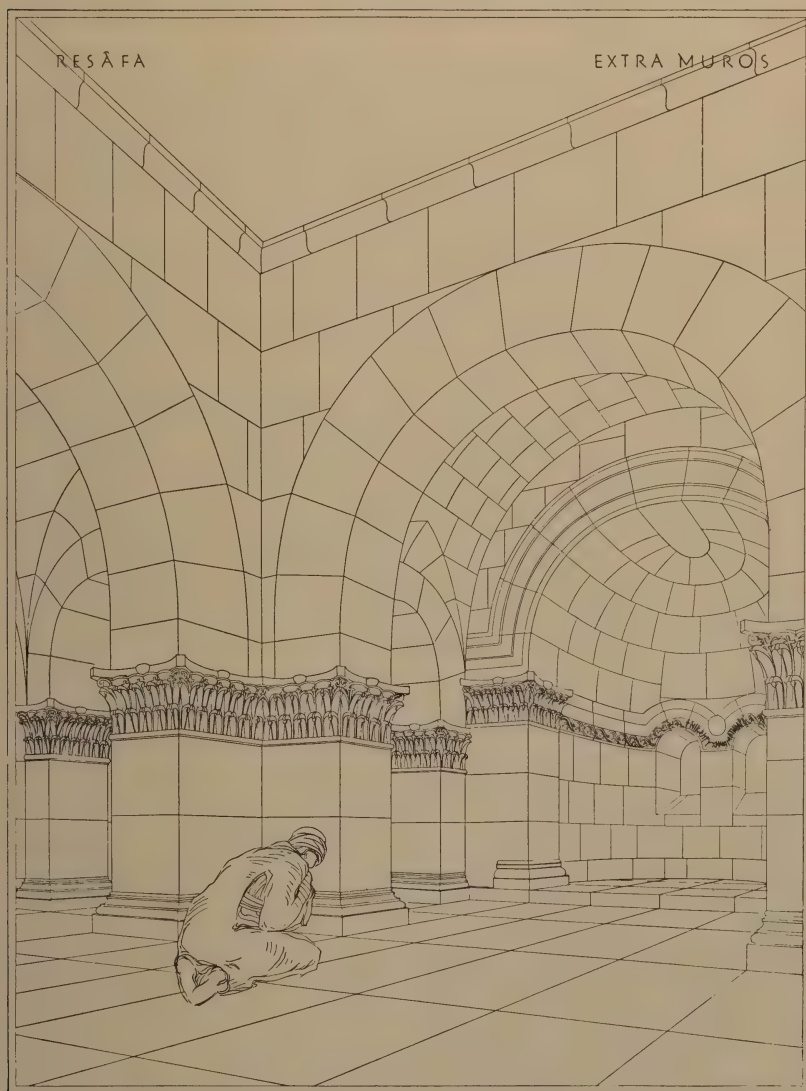


FIG. 115—Ar-Reşâfa: Alamundarus' church, reconstruction of interior, looking east.

to a drawing executed by Herzfeld, believes that there must have been some sort of tent-shaped timber roof. Professor Musil's opinion is more acceptable, both in the light of the spatial composition and of the technical

requirements of construction. Furthermore, the purpose of the structure — which lies in the center of a cemetery and, hence, was undoubtedly a sepulcher — would seem to bear out Musil's view, with which Spanner (*op. cit.*, p. 44) concurs.

From each of the four corners there sprang pendentives, supporting a dome. The remaining travées on the principal axes appear to have been barrel vaulted, their axes coinciding with the principal axes. The apse (Figs. 80 [p. 208], 114) is vaulted over with a concha and has two windows with axes and jambs paralleling the principal axis of the structure. These windows have chambranes and bear the inscription:

NIKAHTYXHAAAMOYNΔAPOY.

It is somewhat difficult to determine the architecture of the narthex, since the remains of the latter are very scanty. The doorways have straight lintels. Light was provided through the small apsidal windows, through windows in the axes of the side compartments, and through fan lights.

The detailed ornamentation is also very sparse. In this connection we may mention first the capitals and the bases of the four cruciform piers with their corresponding pilasters and the capitals and bases in the apse. The former are bossed capitals, Syrio-Mesopotamian in character, and are adorned with rustic acanthi having incisions in the two courses of leafage and quatrefoils hanging from the latter. The helices springing from the upper foliation terminate with crosses and the upper edges of the calathus is adorned with pointed ovals, placed diagonally. The ornamentation in the apse is plainer, lacking the crosses springing from the upper course of foliage. The fronts of some of the capitals were originally ornamented with crosses, but these have been hewn away.

As each capital rests on a ring molded as torus and scotia, Guyer (*op. cit.*, p. 40) classes these capitals among those of the Mesopotamian type of the sixth century.

The date of the founding of the building may be deciphered from an inscription between the apsidal windows (see above, pp. 165, 265). It was erected during the reign of al-Mundir, between the years 570-581. Here we encounter a paradox. Although this church apparently dates from the sixth century, in its ground plan and spatial composition it is characteristic of the five-domed Byzantine structures as they flourished in the ninth. Guyer (*op. cit.*, p. 82) is entirely justified in explaining this incongruity by asserting that this type probably had been developing since the classical era throughout the entire early Christian period and that in the ninth century it became especially flourishing and reached its maturity.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY

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The positions of place names occurring on the map of Northern Arabia accompanying this volume are indicated in the index in parentheses by key letters and figures referring to the quadrangles on the map. The reader should also consult the accompanying index map of the author's route and of his topographical descriptions.

The letters SM refer to the author's map of Southern Mesopotamia which accompanies his The Middle Euphrates, New York, 1927.

Brief, non-technical characterizations are given in parentheses for the majority of the Arabic botanical terms. The Latin names of such plants as have been identified by J. Velenovský (see Bibliography, p. 337) are also given.

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ERRATA

- p. 7, line 12: *for* southwest *read* southeast.
 p. 38, line 41: *for* Yazid II *read* Yazid III.
 p. 38, line 43: *for* middle of July 998 (as printed in Amedroz's
 edition of Ibn al-Ḳalānisi) *read* end of October 988.
 p. 204, line 20: *delete* Evagrius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, IV, 40.
 p. 225, line 5 from bottom: *for* the second half of March, 1149,
read the first half of March, 1140.

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